

THE
SCOTTISH REVIEW.

APRIL, 1894.

ART. I.—SIR WALTER SCOTT.

1. *The Journal of Sir Walter Scott.* Edited by DAVID DOUGLAS. 2 vols. Edinburgh: 1890.
2. *Familiar Letters of Sir Walter Scott.* Edited by DAVID DOUGLAS. 2 vols. Edinburgh: 1894.
3. *Abbotsford: the Personal Relics and Antiquarian Treasures of Sir Walter Scott.* By the Hon. MARY MONICA MAXWELL-SCOTT of Abbotsford. London: 1894.

‘THE public has nothing to do with the misfortunes of authors,’ said Dr. Johnson. Possibly the stern old moralist was theoretically correct, though his sentiment is one in which the public has never shared. It is doubtless true that a literary work should be able to stand upon its own merits apart from the life-history of its author; but from the glimmering dawn of letters until its present noontide splendour, the world has ever taken a deep interest in the fortunes and misfortunes of authors, and will continue to do so while literature endures. We may read *Rasselas, Prince of Abyssinia*, with pleasure and profit, even though we do not know that the wonderful story was written by Johnson in extreme poverty, for the purpose of gain-

ing a small sum that he might give his mother a decent funeral ; but surely our knowledge of that fact will supply additional interest in its perusal, and lead us to esteem the man as well as the author. Nor will the immortal 'Dictionary' be less useful, if we remember that the greater portion of the money which it brought to Johnson was expended in supporting the strangely incongruous household of pensioners which he had brought to his Ark at Bolt Court—Levet, the ruined physician, Frank, the emancipated slave, Anne Williams, the blind termagant, and Mrs. Desmoulins, the helpless widow,—and whose vagaries he endured uncomplainingly for many years. It may be wrong for the public to enquire as to these petty details, and even to take an interest in Dr. Johnson's own *Lives of the Poets*, in which many misfortunes are related ; but literary biographies will be written and read with avidity until some vast cataclysm destroys the foundations of society. Indeed, the thirst for personal gossip about literary men has increased so much of late that it is becoming positively alarming, and mediocre authors have learned the art of utilizing this craze for log-rolling purposes. These are the authors of whose misfortunes or successes we might be content to remain ignorant. But there are poets and prose-writers enshrined in the Temple of Fame, regarding whom the slightest personal details are of much interest, and from whose most severe reverses pregnant lessons may be drawn. Amongst these dignitaries of literature Sir Walter Scott stands pre-eminent, and the publication of the works now under notice supply veritable material for the judgment of posterity upon him alike as a man and as an author.

There is not, perhaps, in the whole range of recent British literature, a writer whose private life will bear the searching scrutiny that may now be applied to Sir Walter Scott, without altering the reader's estimate of the man. Take any of the leading *litterateurs* of the century who have had the ill-fortune to be biographized with some measure of completeness, and the contrast is painfully apparent. The picture of Charles Dickens posturing and attitudinizing before his future biographer, and telling how he is to relate this incident and temper that episode, is not an edifying one. Bulwer Lytton, with his finical desire,

'still to be neat, still to be dressed,' and his longing to go down to posterity as a well-groomed Baronet who could actually translate the Odes of Horace, is not an attractive spectacle. George Eliot's strange revolt against the fundamental customs of modern society does not increase our esteem for her marvellous literary power. Thackeray's life has not been written as Scott's is now related, and possibly he would stand higher than he does were such an intimate acquaintance with his inner thoughts available; but he would be bold indeed who would assert that the revelation of Carlyle's private career, with all its cantankerous criticism, is bound to elevate that sturdy Scotsman's fame. And if we go further back in history, the difficulty increases. Who would now care to read the wretched record of debauchery that made up the life of Fielding; the melancholy details of Swift's home-circle; the prurient incidents in Smollett's career? To all these, Scott's life, as depicted in his *Familiar Letters* and *Journal*, is as opposite as the effulgence of noonday to the mirkest midnight. From Scott's writings every reader must form a very high ideal of the man; but there is, alas! so much of the 'angel abroad and devil at home' in the average literary man that the acute critic might be prepared for disillusion, and expect to find that his idol was clay. To him, therefore, these five volumes will be a most agreeable disappointment. He will discover from incontestable evidence that Scott of Abbotsford is the same high-thoughted, noble, affectionate, true-hearted man, as any of the most estimable of the creatures of his prolific imagination. As brave as Fergus M'Ivor, as chivalrous as Ivanhoe, as earnest as Henry Morton, as shrewd as Andrew Fairservice, as pawky as Caleb Balderstone—such is the Walter Scott of the *Letters* and this *Journal*. Taking the two works together, we have practically a connected account of Scott's career from 1797 till a few weeks before his death in 1832, written mostly by his own hand, with no thought of publication. The most arrant of hypocrites could not have continuously worn a mask and postured for thirty-five years.

Pious old John Newton of Olney, the friend of William Cowper, devised the word 'cardiphonia,' to express the 'heart-utterances,' the most secret thoughts of a writer; and to this category

the *Journal* belongs. It was not begun till November, 1825, and many a reader will share in the sentiment of the first sentences: 'I have all my life regretted that I did not keep a regular *Journal*. I have myself lost recollection of much that was interesting, and I have deprived my family and the public of some curious information by not carrying this resolution into effect.' What a vast array of queer experiences, of odd characters, of obsolete social customs, of the quips and quiddities that enlivened society more than a century ago, would have been preserved had this often-projected *Journal* been an accomplished fact! Since a period of little over six years, and those the most depressing in his whole career, has supplied material for two goodly volumes, what might we have expected had he begun his record in the heyday of his youth, when his faculties were keen, and 'the world was all before him where to choose?' Nevertheless, the lack is to some extent supplied by the 'Familiar Letters'—earlier in date than the '*Journal*,' though published after it—and these taken in conjunction with Lockhart's *Life of Sir Walter Scott*, give nearly all that can now be learned of the 'Great Unknown.'

Amongst the unpublished poetry of Zachary Boyd, now preserved in the Glasgow University Library, there is a quaint verse, which runs thus:—

' Our life's a webbe of small and grosse,
This is us giv'n for doome,
That sorrowes are as threeds across
In this our earthlie loome.'

This curious quatrain fully characterises the Letters and *Journal* of Sir Walter Scott. The former begins with his proposal of marriage, the latter ends with almost his last written words, and the space between is filled up with the joys and sorrows of his domestic life, his literary aspirations, his unexpected success in poetry and prose, his correspondence with the foremost literary men and women of the time—in short, with all that makes up the private life of one who had a wide circle of acquaintances, and who never lost a friend by his own indiscretion. It is, moreover, a life filled to overflowing with abundant energy and untiring perseverance; the record of labour that might have em-

ployed patriarchal age, accomplished enduringly within sixty-two years. Compared with his work, either in quantity or quality, the efforts of modern poets and novelists sink into insignificance. He is a Gulliver amongst the Lilliputians; a phenomenon without a predecessor, and hitherto without a rival, despite his host of imitators. For it is notable of all epoch-making men that they spring from no recognisable progenitor. There was (according to Andrew Lang) but one Homer; there never has been but one Dante, one Shakespeare, one Milton, and one Scott. To estimate aright Scott's position as a novelist, the critic must consider the character of the novel that was in vogue when he began his wonderful career in that department of literature. Let the reader, if he have sufficient antiquarian taste to keep in his book-case choice specimens of the literary fossils of this species, examine the ponderous array of Ballantyne's *Novelist's Library* edited by Sir Walter Scott in 1823, and he will be able to form a fair idea of the low level to which fiction had sunk before *Waverley* was published. He will find prolixity exemplified by Richardson's *Pamela* and Sir Charles Grandison; melodramatic nonsense by Walpole's *Castle of Otranto*; utter tediousness by Clara Reeves' *Old English Baron*; forced sentiment by Henry Mackenzie's *Man of Feeling* and *Julia de Roubigné*; indelicacy by Sterne's *Tristram Shandy*,—indeed all the qualities that would make a modern novel positively unbearable. It is true that Goldsmith's *Vicar of Wakefield* had attained the position it deserved and has maintained; but in the early years of the century, Godwin's *Caleb Williams*, with its wild improbabilities and frantic nonsense, was more to the taste of an age immersed in turbulent politics. At such a time, the advent of *Waverley* was portentous. Like Gay's 'Beggars Opera,' it was bound 'to succeed amazingly, or to be damned confoundedly.' It did succeed. The age was rescued from the depths of bathos. An era was begun in fiction, and from 1814 till 1832 a brilliant succession of novels came from Scott's pen, which have pervaded the literature of all civilized nations, and conferred undying fame upon their author.

Yet, in the midst of all this glory and renown, Scott had to endure his full share of domestic trials, and it is to these that

the Letters and Journal introduce us. He had gained fame in the early part of his literary career solely by his poetry, the only productions of his pen which he acknowledged from the first; but his Letters to the few correspondents who knew the secret of the authorship of *Waverley*, show how deeply, yet unobtrusively gratified he was, by the praise so spontaneously bestowed upon the anonymous novelist. Critics have been divided as to the comparative merits of his poetry and prose. Dr. Samuel Parr, that pinchbeck imitation of Dr. Johnson—another, but a greater, Samuel—declared his judgment in these terms: ‘As to Walter Scott, his jingle will not outlive the next century. It is namby-pamby.’ Commenting on this oracular utterance, De Quincey—no mean critic—wrote thus: ‘Discussing Sir Walter’s merits as a poet, there is room, undeniably, for wide difference of estimates. But he that can affect blindness to the brilliancy of his claims as a novelist, and generally as to the extraordinary grace of his prose, must be incapacitated for the meanest functions of a critic by original dulness of sensibility.’ Regarding the poetry of Scott, it should be remembered that, with all its imperfections, it was not forced into notice. The success which attended *The Lay of the Last Minstrel* was not due to the noble patronage of the Buccleugh family, though its author, like a loyal Border clansman, esteemed highly the notice of the chief of the Scotts. The sublime art of log-rolling had not been devised in the youthful years of this wonderful nineteenth century, and budding poets, mindful of the fate of Robert Burns under the patronage of Edinburgh *haut ton*, rather looked askance upon noble aid. But the real secret of the success of Scott as a poet was that he strung his harp to unwonted measures, and treated lofty themes in an elevated style. The rudeness of Border minstrelsy was shown capable of refinement; and the patriotic ring in the immortal *Lay of the Last Minstrel* accorded well with the spirit of the time when a wave of enthusiastic patriotism was sweeping over the land. That forgotten poetaster, Aaron Hill, in one of his letters to Richardson the novelist, makes the acute remark that ‘it is pleasant to observe the justice of forced fame; she lets down those at once who got themselves pushed upward, and lifts none above the fear of falling but a few who

never teased her.' Surely this dictum has been realized in the case of Walter Scott. However defective his poetry might be compared with his prose—and his friend Francis Jeffrey did not fail to point out its weakness—it brought him immediately into the front rank of contemporary bards, and the dignified style in which he enunciated noble sentiments thrilled the hearts of his fellow-countrymen.

'The past was his—his generous song
Went back to other days,
With filial feeling, which still sees
Something to love and praise,
And closer drew the ties that bind
Man with his country and his kind.

It rang throughout his native land,
A bold and stirring song,
As the merle's hymn at matin sweet,
And as the trumpet strong ;
A touch there was of each degree,
Half minstrel and half knight was he.'

It was not until 1827 that Scott publicly acknowledged himself as the author of the Waverley Novels, but the Letters disclose that he had communicated his secret to several trusted correspondents. In the inner circle of his acquaintances his little mystery could not be kept quite obscure, and many tales have circulated—with greater or lesser verity—on this subject. For instance, it has been stated that as the novels came out he had each bound for his own library, with the back-lettering 'Scott's Novels.' One day the Ettrick Shepherd, looking through the shelves of the bookcase, came upon these, and pointed to them, with a merry twinkle in his eye. 'Oh!' said Sir Walter, in reply to the suggested query, 'the stupid book-binder has put an extra letter in the title. It should have read "Scots Novels."' 'Ah! sir,' answered the Shepherd with a smile, 'I'm ower auld a cat to draw *that* strae afore.' But though his friends might suspect his share in the Waverley Novels, it is only from the Letters that we learn the real confidants of his secret. The subtitle of 'Waverley; or 'Tis Sixty Years Since,' clearly indicates that Scott had begun to write this novel in 1805, at the very time when his 'Lay of the Last Minstrel' had brought him

much renown. Curiously enough, the critics have omitted to notice that this sub-title confirms his own story of having thrown aside the unfinished manuscript in that year, and of his accidentally discovering it years afterwards in an old bureau that had been relegated to a lumber room. *Waverley* was not published till 1814, and though the sub-title, to be arithmetically correct, should have read, 'Tis Sixty-nine Years Since,' Scott was too poetical to make this matter-of-fact change. Much information as to the successive novels, and the opinions of the author and his correspondents regarding them, are to be found in the Letters. From these it appears that when *Waverley* was published on 7th July, 1814, the only persons to whom Scott had confided his secret were, William Erskine (Lord Kinneddar), the Ballantynes, Constable, and Mr. Morritt of Rokeby. It was in a letter to Morritt, written two days after the publication of *Waverley*, that the incident as to the writing of the novel was first related in these terms:—

'Now I must account for my own laziness, which I do by referring you to a small anonymous sort of a novel, in three volumes, which you will receive by the mail this day. It was a very old attempt of mine to embody some traits of those characters and manners peculiar to Scotland, the last remnants of which vanished during my own youth, so that few or no traces now remain. I had written great part of the first volume, and sketched other passages, when I mislaid the MS., and only found it by the merest accident as I was rummaging the drawers of an old cabinet; and I took the fancy of finishing it, which I did so fast that the last two volumes were written in three weeks. I had a great deal of fun in the accomplishing of this task, though I do not expect that it will be popular in the South, as much of the humour, if there be any, is local, and some of it even professional. You, however, who are an adopted Scotchman, will find some amusement in it. It has made a very strong impression here, and the good people of Edinburgh are busied in tracing the author, and in finding out originals for the portraits it contains. In the first place, they will probably find it difficult to convict the guilty author, although he is far from escaping suspicion, for Jeffrey has offered to make oath that it is mine, and another great critic has tendered his affidavit *ex contrario*; so that these authorities have divided the good town. However, the thing has succeeded very well, and is thought highly of. . . . I intend to maintain my *incognito*.'*

* Letters, Vol. I., p. 324.

In connection with this candid letter it is interesting to read Jeffrey's own critical judgment upon *Waverley*, and his suspicions as to its author, which appeared in the *Edinburgh Review* for November, 1814. It is important to remember that Jeffrey was in a better position than many others to decide as to Scott's right to the authorship. They had been close friends from 1792, and every one of the early volumes of the *Review* contained several articles from Scott's pen. The violence of Jeffrey's Whiggism brought about an estrangement, and when the *Quarterly Review* was founded as an opposition periodical in 1809, Scott was naturally attracted towards it, and only contributed occasionally to the pages of the older quarterly. But so much of Scott's writing, especially upon Scottish subjects, had passed through Jeffrey's hands, that his acute critical sense could not readily be deceived. He sums up his review of *Waverley* thus:—

'There has been much speculation, at least in this quarter of the island, about the author of this singular performance—and certainly it is not easy to conjecture why it is still anonymous. Judging by internal evidence, to which alone we pretend to have access, we should not scruple to ascribe it to the highest of those authors to whom it has been assigned by the sagacious conjectures of the public;—and this at least we will venture to say, that if it be indeed the work of an author hitherto unknown, Mr. Scott would do well to look to his laurels, and to rouse himself for a sturdier competition than any he has yet had to encounter.*

One of the chosen few to whom Scott imparted the secret of the authorship of the *Waverley Novels* was Lady Louisa Stuart, daughter of John, third Earl of Bute, the famous Minister of George III., and grand-daughter of Lady Mary Wortley Montague. This talented lady, whose letters are amongst the most charming in the whole of these two volumes, was born in 1757, and survived till 1851, forming thus a curious link between the past and present. Her letters display a vivacity and an easy gracefulness of style not unlike the writings of her renowned grandmother. Scott had frequently consulted Lady Louisa regarding his poetry, and had apparently received from her many valuable stories of other days which he wrought into his novels. Perhaps it was the latter fact which led him to take her into his confidence

* *Edinburgh Review*, vol. xxiv., p. 242.

as to his prose writings, convinced that ere long she would be sure 'to ken her ain groats amang ither folk's kail.' The earliest allusion to the novels in any of his published letters to Lady Louisa is dated 14th November, 1816, and refers to the first series of *Tales of my Jandlord*; but he had told her his secret when the *Antiquary* was published in the previous May. The following passage is interesting as giving Scott's own estimate of *The Black Dwarf*, and of *Old Mortality* :—

'I intended to have written four tales illustrative of the manners of Scotland in her different provinces. But as no man that wrote so much ever knew so little what he intended to do when he began to write, or executed less of the little which he had premeditated, I totally altered my plan before I had completed my first volume. I began a Border tale well enough, but tired of the ground I had so often trod before I had walked over two thirds of the course. Besides, I found I had circumscribed my bounds too much, and, in *manège* phrase, that my imagination, not being well in hand, could not lunge easily within so small a circle. So I quarrelled with my story, and bungled up a conclusion, as a boarding-school Miss finishes a task which she had commenced with great glee and accuracy. In the next tale I have succeeded better—at least I think so. It is a Covenanted story: the time lies at the era of Bothwell Brigg, the scene in Lanarkshire. There are noble subjects for narrative during that period, full of the strongest light and shadow, all human passions stirred up and stimulated by the most powerful motives, and the contending parties as distinctly contrasted in manners and in modes of thinking as in political principles. I am complete master of the whole history of these strange times, both of persecutors and persecuted, so I trust I have come decently off, for as Falstaff very reasonably asks, 'is not the truth the truth?'

The reader who knows these two stories will probably admit that it is a rare thing to find an author capable of giving so fair a criticism upon his own work as is here indicated. In the same letter Sir Walter alludes to a rumour that had been put in circulation that his brother, Thomas Scott, was the mysterious novelist, and it is noteworthy that he refers to the matter without the faintest tinge of jealousy, but with all the fulness of genuine fraternal affection :—

'I will tell you when we meet what may have given rise to my brother's being named as the author of *Waverley*, etc. It is a report which, if he would avail himself of the very strong talents both of pathetic and humorous description which he really possesses (*car il y a de quoi*) he

might make it a very fortunate report for him. But he is one of the many many hundreds in whom indolence has strangled genius, and the habits acquired in an unsettled state of life are highly unfavourable to his ever doing anything in this way, though the state of his family would render it the wisest thing he could do.

The answer to this interesting letter was written by Lady Louisa Stuart on 5th December, 1816, and shows both the acuteness of her criticism and the friendly attitude which she took up towards the author. For it requires not a little courage even in an earl's daughter to tell a budding novelist where his faults lie; and that Scott appreciated her taste is proved by the fact that some of the improvements she suggested were made in the second edition:—

'I came to town yesterday morning, to leave it again to-morrow. I found something you wot of upon my table, and as I dare not take it with me to a friend's house for fear of exciting curiosity (*What is that? and how did you come by it?*) I have been reading against time, devouring the food till I am almost choked. However, gone through it fairly though hastily I have, and now it is locked up in a drawer, there to lie safely till I hear of it from others, and assure yourself no human being shall hear of it from me. I agree with you, the second tale is the best; and yet, while reading the first, I wondered what you meant by saying so, for it interested me strongly. But the second is super-excellent in all its points; it breaks up fresh ground, and has all the raciness of originality. I cannot help thinking it will bear down the world before it triumphantly. As usual with certain authors, it makes its personages our intimate acquaintances, and its scenes so present to the eye that last night after sitting up unreasonably late over it, I got no sleep, from a kind of fever of the mind it had occasioned. It seemed as if I had been an eye and ear witness of all the passages, and I could not lull the agitation into calmness. Mause and Cuddie hurried my spirits in another way; they forced me to laugh out loud, which one seldom does alone. On a second slower reading I expect to be still better pleased, and then also I suppose I shall find out all the faults. At present it has, in the Scotch phrase, 'taken me off my feet,' and I do not criticise, though I think you will believe me when I say I do not, and will not flatter . . . I have as yet only one great attack to make, and that upon a single word, but such a word! such an anachronism! Claverhouse says, he has no time to make *sentimental* speeches. My dear sir, tell Jedediah that Claverhouse never heard the sound of these four syllables in his life. We are used to them; but *sentiment* and *sentimental* were, I believe, first introduced into the language by Sterne, and are hardly as old as I am. Let alone the Covenanters' days, I am persuaded you would look in vain for them in the works of Richardson and Fielding, authors of George the II.'s reign. Nay,

the French, from whom they were borrowed, did not talk of *le sentiment* till long after Louis the XIV.'s reign. No such thing is to be found in Madame de Sévigné, La Bruyère, etc., etc. At home or abroad I defy Lord Dundee ever to have met with the expression.'

In a later letter, Lady Louisa returned to the criticism of these two novels, and showed how keen was her critical faculty for prose. She was not always so felicitous in her appreciation of Scott's poetry. For instance, she wrote a most effusive letter on 29th October, 1815, full of compliments upon Scott's 'Field of Waterloo,' which even his most devoted admirers regard as the weakest of all his poems, and excuse it because of the haste with which it was written, and for the benevolent purpose the poet had in view. So highly did Sir Walter esteem her praise, that he endorsed the letter, 'this applause is worth having.' Yet the poem was the current jest of the wits of that day. Lord Chancellor Erskine wrote one of his cleverest epigrams on this subject, which ran thus:—

' On Waterloo's ensanguined plain
Lie tens of thousands of the slain ;
But none by sabre or by shot
Fell half as flat as Walter Scott.'

Even now posterity agrees with Lord Erskine rather than with Lady Louisa Stuart. Nevertheless, her criticisms of the novels, as they successively appeared, are so full of candid advice and refined taste, that her letters on them make most interesting reading. And it is curious to notice how a lady of over sixty years of age, trained in the older school of fiction, gave forth judgments upon these novels of which posterity has approved.

There is a charming scene in *The Virginians*, in which Thackeray depicts Richardson the novelist surrounded in his old age by a bevy of fair ladies, who regard him as a kind of demi-god, and hang upon each word that falls from his lips as if it were the utterance of an oracle. An ill-natured critic, looking upon these Letters, and finding so many of them either from or to lady correspondents, might hastily conclude that Scott was of the ultra-sentimental order, not virile enough to resist their blandishments, and anxious to obtain favourable opinions from the impressionable and emotional sex. But such a conclusion

would be grossly unfair to him. That he valued the esteem of educated women like Lady Dalkeith, Lady Abercorn, Joanna Baillie, Anna Seward, Maria Edgeworth, and others well-fitted to criticise his works, is not to be denied; but not less did he place himself in direct communication with the leading men of letters—Jeffrey, Wordsworth, Southey, Surtees, Leyden, Hogg, and Washington Irving—who were extremely unlikely to offer the incense of praise at an unworthy shrine. Many of his letters to these men are published in the two volumes, and through them all there is visible the same noble mind, the same kindly heart and modest demeanour which give character to all his correspondence. He was not a fisher for compliments, but he did not despise sincere approval. The fame which his poetry brought to him might have unduly elated a less estimable man, and made him supercilious and patronising; its only effect upon Scott was to make him work more earnestly, that he might merit the applause so liberally bestowed.

Nor must it be supposed that Scott attained to eminence as a poet without one cavilling word being raised against him. Francis Jeffrey, though deeply indebted to Scott for literary aid when starting and continuing the *Edinburgh Review*, had too high a notion of the true functions of a critic to suffer even his esteemed friend to escape the scalpel; and every successive review of Scott's poetry contained some plain-spoken criticism. Hazlitt, a born critic, rather prided himself in resisting the witchery of Scott's verse and the glamour of his prose. Of the former he wrote thus:—

‘Walter Scott is the most *popular* of all the poets of the present day, and deservedly so. He describes that which is most easily and generally understood with more vivacity and effect than anybody else. He has no excellences, either of a lofty or recondite kind, which lie beyond the reach of the most ordinary capacity to find out; but he has all the good qualities which all the world agree to understand. His style is clear, flowing, and transparent; his sentiments, of which his style is an easy and natural medium, are common to him with his readers. He has none of Wordsworth's *idiosyncrasy*. He differs from his readers only in a greater range of knowledge and facility of expression. His poetry belongs to the class of *improvisatore* poetry. It has neither depth, height, nor breadth in it; neither uncommon strength nor uncommon refinement of thought, sentiment, or language. It has no originality. But if this author has no re-

search, no moving power in his own breast, he relies with the greater safety and success on the force of his subject. He selects a story such as is sure to please, full of incidents, characters, peculiar manners, costume, and scenery; and he tells it in a way that can offend no one. He never wearies or disappoints you. He is communicative and garrulous, but he is not his own hero. He never obtrudes himself on your notice to prevent your seeing the subject. What passes in the poem, passes much as it would have done in reality. The author has little or nothing to do with it.'

Jeremy Bentham, the founder of the Utilitarian Philosophy, can hardly be put on the same level as Jeffrey or Hazlitt in the matter of poetic criticism; but he went out of his way on one occasion to describe Scott as 'a servile poetaster.' When *Rokeby* was published in 1812, Moore endeavoured to cast ridicule upon it by a verse in the *Twopenny Postbag*, in which he declared that the Minstrel, having quitted the Border—

'To seek new renown,
Is coming by long Quarto stages to Town;
And beginning with *Rokeby* (the job's sure to pay),
Means to do all the Gentlemen's Seats by the way.'

When Lockhart's *Life of Scott* was published, Macvey Napier wrote to Macaulay asking him to write an article on it for the *Edinburgh Review*, but the brilliant historian declined, and in his letter dated 26th June, 1838, brought a whole battery of charges against Sir Walter, which seem not a little spiteful. The following remarkable passage occurs in this epistle:—

'Surely it would be desirable that some person who knew Sir Walter, who had at least seen and spoken with him, should be charged with this article. Many people are living who had a most intimate acquaintance with him. I know no more of him than I know of Dryden or Addison, and not a tenth part so much as I know of Swift, Cowper, or Johnson. Then, again, I have not, from the little that I do know of him, formed so high an opinion of his character as most people seem to entertain, and as it would be expedient for the *Edinburgh Review* to express. He seems to me to have been most carefully, and successfully, on his guard against the sins which most easily beset literary men. On that side he multiplied his precautions, and set double watch. Hardly any writer has been so free from the petty jealousies and morbid irritabilities of our caste. But I do not think that he kept himself equally pure from faults of a very different kind, from the faults of a man of the world. In politics, a bitter and unscrupulous partizan; profuse and ostentatious in expense; agitated by

the hopes and fears of a gambler ; perpetually sacrificing the perfection of his compositions, and the durability of his fame, to his eagerness for money ; writing with the slovenly haste of Dryden, in order to satisfy wants which were not, like those of Dryden, caused by circumstances beyond his control, but which were produced by his extravagant waste or rapacious speculation ; this is the way in which he appears to me. I am sorry for it, for I sincerely admire the greater part of his works ; but I cannot think him a high-minded man, or a man of very strict principle. Now these are opinions which, however softened, it would be highly unpopular to publish, particularly in a Scotch review.'

It was perhaps as well that Macaulay, with these sentiments and prepossessions in his mind, was not asked to write a review of Scott's Life. Possibly had the Letters and Journal been published before this time, even Macaulay would have found reason to temper his judgment. The case *per contra* in favour of Scott might here easily be led by giving quotations from the numerous reviews of his works as they appeared ; but it will be more interesting to the reader if two estimates of Scott by two widely different men—Byron and Christopher North—be quoted from volumes that are little known to the present generation. In Medwin's *Conversations of Lord Byron*, published in 1824, the following passages occur :—

'When I entered the room, Lord Byron was devouring, as he called it, a new novel of Sir Walter Scott's. "How difficult it is," said he, "to say anything new. Who was that voluptuary of antiquity who offered a reward for a new pleasure ? Perhaps all nature and art could not supply a new idea. This page, for instance, is a brilliant one ; it is full of wit. But let us see how much of it is original. This passage, for instance, comes from Shakespeare ; this *bon mot* from one of Sheridan's comedies ; this observation from another writer (naming the author), and yet the ideas are new moulded, and perhaps Scott was not aware of their being plagiarisms. It is a bad thing to have too good a memory." . . . "I never travel without Scott's novels," said he, "they are a library in themselves, a perfect literary treasure. I could read them once a year with new pleasure." I asked him if he was certain about the novels being Sir Walter Scott's ? "Scott as much as owned himself the author of *Waverley* to me in Murray's shop," replied he. "I was talking to him about that novel, and lamented that its author had not carried back the story nearer to the time of the Revolution. Scott, entirely off his guard, said, "Ay, I might have done so, but ——" There he stopped. It was in vain to attempt to correct himself ; he looked confused and relieved his embarrassment by a precipitate retreat." . . . "He spoiled the fame of his

poetry by his superior prose. He has such extent and versatility of powers in writing that should his novels ever tire the public, which is not likely, he will apply himself to something else, and succeed as well. His mottoes from old plays prove that he at all events possesses the dramatic faculty which is denied me.”

This testimony, coming from one who never was lavish in praise of other poets, is of much value. The next quotation is from Christopher North's too much neglected *Noctes Ambrosianæ*, and appeared in *Blackwood's Magazine* for September, 1825. It faithfully represents the enthusiasm which the poetry of Scott evoked, and skilfully though humorously suggests the cause:—

North :—“Scott's poetry puzzles me—it is often very bad. Except when his martial soul is up, he is but a tame and feeble writer. His versification in general flows on easily—smoothly, almost sonorously, but seldom or never with impetuosity or grandeur. There is no strength, no felicity in his diction, and the substance of his poetry is neither rich nor rare.”

Tickler :—“But when his martial soul is up, and up it is at the sight of a spear-point or pennon, then indeed you hear the true poetry of chivalry. What care I for all his previous drivelling—if drivelling it be—and God forbid I should deny drivelling to any poet, ancient or modern—for now he makes my very soul to burn within me, and coward and civilian though I be—yes, a most intense and insuperable coward, prizing life and limb beyond all other earthly possessions, and loath to shed one single drop of blood either for my king or country—yet such is the trumpet power of the song of that son of genius, that I start from my old elbow chair, up with the poker, tongs, or shovel, no matter which, and flourishing it around my head, cry—

“Charge, Chester, charge!—on, Stanley, on!”

“and then, dropping my voice and returning to my padded bottom, whisper—

“Were the last words of Marmion.”

“I care not one single curse for all the criticism that was ever canted, or decanted, or recanted. Neither does the world. The world takes a poet as it finds him, and seats him above or below the salt. The world is as obstinate as a million mules, and will not turn its head on one side or another for all the shouting of the critical population that ever was shouted. It is very possible that the world is a bad judge—well then, appeal to posterity, and be hanged to you—and posterity will affirm the judgment with costs. . . . Therefore I say that Scott is a Homer of a poet, and so let him dose when he has a mind to it, for no man I know is better entitled to an occasional half-canto of slumber.”

These extracts should be sufficient to show that Scott had few enemies and many friends, even amongst the critics who are supposed to be least under the influence of emotion. The secret of this phenomenon is probably to be found in the lovable disposition of the man, as apart from the author; and though Lockhart's *Life of Scott* brings out this trait of his character with sufficient clearness, Lockhart was prevented from fully utilizing either the Letters or the Journal, lest he should offend Scott's surviving friends. Now that these are completely published, it is seen that the more light there is shed upon the poet's private life, the more brilliantly does his reputation shine.

The political opinions of Scott may seem to this generation to require both explanation and apology. He was a Tory of an ultra type, and remained consistent throughout his life to the doctrines that had been inculcated upon him in his youth. The political class to which he belonged is now quite obsolete, for the Conservative of modern times has been so altered by evolution and environment that he can hardly be recognised as the direct descendant of the Tory of a hundred years ago. It is not difficult to account for Scott's Toryism. He was trained in the home circle to venerate rank and noble birth, and his own predilections led him to regard Royalty and all its belongings with a sincere devotion that is now either rare or quite unknown. Had he lived in Jacobite times, he would certainly have shared with Viscount Dundee the clouded glory of Killiecrankie, or at a later date he would have been 'out in the '15,' or still later, would have 'followed Prince Charlie.' With the extinction of the hopes of the Stuart race, there was no choice, save to transfer his loyalty to the House of Hanover, and he gave the reigning sovereign his allegiance as the representative of law and order. One important event which served to confirm his devotion, was the occurrence of the French Revolution, with all its sanguinary horrors. His youth and early manhood were contemporaneous with the thrilling events in that protracted tragedy, and we can have little idea in these peaceful times of the terrorising effect of the Revolution upon the educated classes in this country. Every movement for the amelioration of the poor, or for the rectifying of flagrant political wrongs, was regarded as a prelude to a new Reign of

Terror; and Toryism of the most uncompromising type was developed alike amongst the land-owners and the professional classes of every degree. It was an excusable revolt against what seemed to be the coming anarchy, and Scott naturally joined those who rallied for the protection of the throne. During the trials for sedition, which disgraced the legal annals of Scotland at the close of last century, he looked on approvingly, not suffering himself to sympathise with martyrs like Muir and Fyshe Palmer, because he viewed them as firebrands bent upon the destruction of Church and State. It is easy to cultivate this state of mind, but very difficult to escape from it. That Jeffrey and Cockburn did free themselves from terrorism is greatly to their credit; but it cannot be charged against Scott that the constitution of his mind and long-formed habits of thought prevented him from doing so. Rather is it creditable that, with his vast literary power and fluent pen, he chose to keep out of the fray, or to mingle slightly with the gladiators in the political arena of his time. Twice he committed the error of giving way to political prejudice, and on both occasions he deeply repented. The first time was when he introduced the heartless line 'Tally ho to the Fox' in a poem not to be found in his collected works, but printed in Lockhart's *Life*. He was sharply rebuked by Lady Rosslyn, who wrote a note (printed in the first volume of the *Letters*) describing it as 'an uncalled-for mark of personal disrespect to Mr. Fox.' The other incident happened at the Coronation of George IV., when the unhappy Queen Caroline endeavoured to force her way into Westminster to claim her rights as Queen-Consort, aided by a few enthusiasts, some of whom, at least, had espoused her cause for the sake of mere notoriety. Let De Quincey explain the episode, and apologise for the offender:—

'Describing the morning of the Coronation, and the memorable repulse of the poor misguided Queen, Sir Walter allowed himself to speak of her as *the great Lady, with her body-guard of black-guards*. These words I doubt not that Sir Walter soon, and often, and earnestly deplored; for the anguish of her mortification, by the testimony of all who witnessed the tumultuous succession of passion that shook her, and convulsed her features, as she argued the point with the officer at the entrance of Westminster Hall, was intense; and those pitied her then who never pitied her

before. There were also other reasons that must have drawn a generous regret from Sir Walter upon remembering these words afterwards. But we all know that it was not in his nature to exult over the fallen, or to sympathise with triumphant power. In fact, he could not foresee her near-approaching death; and he was reasonably disgusted with her violence at the moment; and, finally, the words escaped him under circumstances of hurry, which allowed no time for revision. Few indeed are the writers who have so little to blot as this distinguished man.'

It must be admitted that Scott never abandoned the political notions of his youth, but died as sincere a Tory as he had lived. But then it must be remembered that the new era introduced by the Reform Bill of 1832 had only dawned when he departed, and he could not anticipate the stupendous changes in political affairs that have taken place during the past sixty years. It is possible to blame Scott for not having the clear-sightedness of the literary Whigs of his time—Jeffrey, Macaulay, and the brilliant band of Edinburgh Reviewers—but that is much like blaming Galileo for not anticipating Newton's theory of gravitation. One thing is certain. Sir Walter's fine old crusted Toryism never warped his affection for humanity, nor prevented him from sympathizing with the sorrows of the poor.

The domestic circle into which the *Letters* and *Journal* introduce us is as perfect an example of felicity as could be found anywhere. The first three letters are love-letters of a highly original character. It is well known that before he corresponded with Miss Carpenter, who became his wife, he had suffered a very severe disappointment in love. He had fixed his young affections upon Williamina Stuart, only child of Sir James Stuart of Fettercairn, Bart., but the marriage of that young lady to Sir William Forbes of Pitsligo put an end to his dream. While still suffering from this unexpected shock he met Miss Charlotte Carpenter, daughter of M. Jean Charpentier of Lyons, a Frenchwoman by birth, but educated in England; and the result of a brief courtship was a proposal of marriage, made in September, 1797. The offer was accepted, and the wedding took place at Carlisle on 24th December in that year. In many ways Scott's wife was a direct contrast to himself. She was practical and unromantic, whilst he was visionary and inclined to look at everyday affairs through the resplendent mist of senti-

ment. It was an attraction of opposites that brought them together, and though there is ample evidence that Scott never forgot his first love, he admitted himself that his broken heart had been 'handsomely pieced' even while he averred that 'the crack would remain till his dying day.' The marriage was a surprise to all his friends, and prophets of evil foretold that it could only result in unhappiness. Yet, during the thirty years that the union subsisted, it was as perfect a uniting of hearts as the most sanguine could have desired. Many stories have been in circulation to show that these two were unsuited for each other, some of which, no doubt, were invented by his waggish friends. The following joke, for instance, was probably concocted by one of the Erskines. It is related that one day Sir Walter and Lady Scott were walking through the fields, and he was dilating with enthusiastic fervour upon the beauties of nature, directing her attention especially to the snow-white lambs that were frisking o'er the lea. "Yes," she replied, "they are very nice—with mint sauce and green peas." The story is possibly slanderous, but even if it were true, it only shows that she possessed the domestic instinct and the housewifely qualities that were so necessary in such a household as his. In his second love-letter to her he wrote:—"I admire of all things your laughing Philosophy, and shall certainly be your pupil in learning to take a gay view of human life." Again, in another letter, he thus expressed his hopes for the future:—"When care comes we will laugh it away; or if the load is too heavy, we will sit down and share it between us, till it becomes almost as light as pleasure itself." With these bright anticipations and honest intentions to make the best of everything, there was no room for discord in the home of the Scotts; for the *haus-vater* himself had little of that irritability of temper which often makes the domestic life of the literary household intolerable. How well she realised his hopes is shown by the melancholy passage in the *Journal* where he records in secret the loss he sustained by her death:—

'Lonely, aged, deprived of my family—all but poor Anne—an impoverished and embarrassed man, I am deprived of the sharer of my thoughts and counsels, who could always talk down my sense of the calamitous apprehensions which break the heart that must bear them alone.

Even her foibles were of service to me, by giving me things to think of beyond my weary self-reflection.'

In the face of such a sincere and heart-felt record we must conclude that the vaticinations of impending unhappiness which were circulated when the marriage was announced were wholly unrealized.

The happy relations that ever subsisted between Scott and his children are beautifully displayed throughout the *Letters*. In their childhood he sympathises with all their petty griefs and trials, unbending as only the loftiest minds can to partake in their little joys and sorrows, and mingling fatherly counsel with reproof where that is necessary. As they rise to manhood and womanhood his manner of addressing them alters, but there is the same kindly spirit and tender regard for them as was shown before they had left the nursery. Apart from their literary interest, these letters to Scott's children might be taken as models of parental epistles, more instructive because more genuine than anything of the kind written by Lord Chesterfield, Dr. Gregory, or Mrs. Chapone. Many of the letters to familiar correspondents show Scott in the midst of the bustle caused by the erection of that 'romance in stone and lime' called Abbotsford. In this connection it is interesting to examine the sumptuous volume by Sir Walter's great-granddaughter, the present proprietrix of Abbotsford, entitled *The Personal Relics and Antiquarian Treasures of Sir Walter Scott*. The twenty-five plates in this volume, admirably drawn and beautifully coloured by Mr. William Gibb of Edinburgh, give an excellent idea of the life which the novelist led at Abbotsford, and the historical and personal objects which were most highly prized by him. Here will be found many of the relics to which allusion is made in the *Letters* and the *Journal*, and thus the volume makes a most valuable supplement to those which preceded it.

The second volume of the 'Letters' closes in 1825, leaving Scott in the full tide of his prosperity. The world had gone very well with him up till that time, and though he had had losses in his family and severe domestic trials, he had yet been able to keep 'aye a heart abune them a'. Well would it have been for Scott had he remembered the Horatian stanza:—

' But when Fortune's smiles are sweetest,
And when all the sky seems fair,
Then, Licinius, 'tis meetest
Thou should'st for the worst prepare.
Reef and trim thy swollen sail,
Whilst thy care may yet avail,
For the canvas, unconfined,
May drift thee till thou leave thy friends behind.'

It is his neglect of these precautions that makes the *Journal* so melancholy to the sympathetic reader. Every biography exercises a saddening influence as the close is reached, and in Scott's case this is peculiarly manifest. The *Journal* begins where the *Letters* terminate, and for the first few pages the same light-heartedness is visible as in his correspondence. But ere long the dark cloud arises which overshadowed the remainder of his existence; and it is in the pages of this *Journal* that we see the gay comedy of his life-drama developing into most moving tragedy. The story of his monetary misfortunes need not here be recapitulated. Scott's easy good nature had led him to risk his fortune to relieve Ballantyne and Constable from the difficulties in which they were involved; and before long the crash came which a more worldly-minded man would have anticipated and prepared for. He was plunged at once from a position of affluence into direst poverty. Instead of whining impotently over this disaster or querulously blaming his friends as the cause of his misery, he turns, with a nobility of spirit unexampled in literature, and addresses himself to the task of retrieving his lost position. He had reached the pinnacle of fame and might well have rested on his laurels; but the thought of living in indigence was intolerable to him, and though his strength was already failing, he set himself with a stout heart to tread once more the arduous path over which he had formerly passed with a jubilant spirit. No foolish pride was to be allowed to intervene and divert him from his purpose. The duty of giving up all he had won, of resigning the rewards that his own industry and self-sacrifice had legitimately gained, was fearlessly faced; and at a time when he might have been entitled to rest from his labours, he girded up his loins to begin the journey anew. The passage in which he describes his feelings at this juncture is as

pathetic as any in the whole range of fiction. It is literally the picture of a good man bravely struggling with adversity :—

'1825, Dec. 18.—Ballantyne called on me this morning. *Venit illa suprema dies*. My extremity has come. Cadell has received letters from London which all but positively announce the failure of Hurst & Robinson, so that Constable & Co. must follow, and I must go with poor James Ballantyne for company. I suppose it will involve my all. But if they leave me £500 I can still make it £1000 or £1500 a year. And if they take my salaries of £1300 and £300, they cannot but give me something out of them. I have been rash in anticipating funds to buy land, but then I made from £5,000 to £10,000 a year, and land was my temptation. I think nobody can lose a penny—that is one comfort. Men will think pride has had a fall. Let them indulge their own pride in thinking that my fall makes them higher, or seems so at least. I have the satisfaction to recollect that my prosperity has been of advantage to many, and that some at least will forgive my transient wealth on account of the innocence of my intentions, and my real wish to do good to the poor. This news will make sad hearts at Darnick, and in the cottages of Abbotsford, which I do not nourish the least hope of preserving. It has been my Delilah, and so I have often termed it; and now the recollection of the extensive woods I planted, and the walks I have formed, from which strangers must derive both the pleasure and the profit, will excite feelings likely to sober my gayest moments. I have half resolved never to see the place again. How could I tread my hall with such a diminished crest? How live a poor indebted man where I was once the wealthy, the honoured? My children are provided; thank God for that. I was to have gone there on Saturday in joy and prosperity to receive my friends. My dogs will wait for me in vain. It is foolish—but the thoughts of parting from these dumb creatures have moved me more than any of the painful reflections I have put down. Poor things, I must get them kind masters; there may be yet those who loving me may love my dog because it has been mine. I must end this, or I shall lose the tone of mind with which men should meet distress.—I find my dogs' feet on my knees. I hear them whining and seeking me everywhere—this is nonsense, but it is what they would do could they know how things are. Poor Will Laidlaw! Poor Tom Purdie! this will be news to wring your heart, and many a poor fellow's besides to whom my prosperity was daily bread!'

Even to so prolific and facile a writer as Scott, the task of beginning life anew was too much. The constitution of his mind was thus described by him—a description that will seem familiar to many engaged in literature :—

'Never a being, from my infancy upward, hated task-work as I hate it; and yet I have done a great deal in my day. It is not that I am idle in my

nature neither. But propose to me to do one thing, and it is inconceivable the desire I have to do something else—not that it is more easy or more pleasant, but just because it is escaping from an imposed task. I cannot trace this love of contradiction to any distinct source, but it has haunted me all my life.’

To a mind so constituted the stupendous task which Scott undertook of retrieving his vanished fortune must have been inexpressibly irksome; and though he never breaks out, as Carlyle so frequently does, into wailing feebly over the fate that binds him to the wheel, it is impossible for him wholly to hide the distastefulness of the work which employed his latter days. Some of his German critics have flippantly suggested that what Scott wrote through love of his art is imperishable, but that the work done by him for mercenary purposes contains the germs of inevitable decay. The statement is only partially true. The work upon which his fame will rest was accomplished before disaster overtook him. His after-work was the result of the frantic attempt to spur the jaded courser that had neared the goal once more around the course, and failure was the inevitable consequence. Day after day he wrought unflinchingly, performing the allotted task with racking head and sorrowful heart, grudging even the slight encroachments on his time made by a casual visitor, and burdened with the fear that his hand would be still and cold in death ere he had accomplished his Sisyphean labour:—

‘After all I have fagged through six pages, and made Wurmser lay down his sword on the glacis of Mantua—and my head aches, my eyes ache, my back aches, so does my breast, and I am sure my heart aches. And what can Duty ask more?’

The end which Sir Walter set before him was attained, but at incommensurate cost. When he began his second literary career, he was fifty-four years of age, and already he had felt some of those symptoms of decaying health which youth may neglect, but which advancing years make more pronounced and prophetic. Yet he succeeded in gaining his purpose, and could once more hold his head erect amongst his fellow-men, and feel entitled to the respect which had never been withheld. But the brave struggle he had made impaired his energies, and his health com-

pletely broke down in 1832. It was then thought that a tour on the Continent would revive him, and accordingly he set out for Italy in the early part of that year. On this occasion, Wordsworth addressed to him one of the finest of his sonnets, which may here be repeated:—

‘ A trouble, not of clouds or weeping rain,
Nor of the setting sun’s pathetic light,
Engendered, hangs o’er Eildon’s triple height ;
Spirits of Power, assembled there, complain
For Kindred Power, departing from their sight ;
While Tweed, best pleased in chanting a blithe strain,
Saddens his voice again and yet again.
Lift up your hearts, ye Mourners ; for the might
Of the whole World’s good wishes with him goes ;
Blessings and prayers in nobler retinue
Than sceptred king or laurelled conqueror knows,
Follow this wondrous Potentate. Be true
Ye winds of ocean and the Midland Sea,
Wafting your charge to soft Parthenope.’

The world’s good wishes, though lavishly bestowed, were doomed to prove fruitless. Though reinvigorated by the journey, and intensely interested in the scenes through which he passed, Scott’s shroud was already high upon his breast, and his renewed strength was but the flicker of the light before its final extinction. He carried his faithful Journal with him, and the sprightliness of some of the later entries shows how greatly he had benefited by his tour. The last entry of all is dated 16th April, 1832, and refers to the journey from Naples to Rome:—

‘ We entered Rome by a gate renovated by one of the old Pontiffs, but which I forget, and so paraded the streets by moonlight to discover, if possible, some appearance of the learned Sir William Gell, or the pretty Miss Ashley. At length we found an old servant who guided us to the lodging taken by Sir William Gell, where all was comfortable, a good fire included, which our fatigue and the chilliness of the night required. We dispersed as soon as we had taken some food, wine and water. We slept reasonably, but on the next morning—

Thus abruptly ends this most interesting record. Mr. David Douglas, referring to this passage, speaks of it as ‘probably the last words ever penned by Scott.’ In this he makes a slight mistake. It will be noticed that the Journal terminates with

Scott's entry to Rome. Whilst residing there he made the acquaintance of the Countess Wolkonsky, a lady of Polish extraction, who was one of his devoted admirers; and at her request he wrote several verses which must have been indited subsequent to the last date in the Journal. The holograph manuscript of these lines is now in the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries at Edinburgh, and as they are almost unknown save to a limited circle, the fragment, in the imperfect condition in which it was left by the author, may here be quoted. It may be noticed as an indication of the decaying of Scott's faculties that even the name of the lady to whom he addressed his poem had escaped his memory:—

Verses written by the Countess of Wollenluss' Request : a Russian Lady.

' Lady, they say thy native land
 Unlike this clime of fruit and flowers,
 Loves, like the minstrel's northern strain,
 The sterner share of Nature's powers.
 Even Beauty's power of Empery,
 Decay in the decaying bowers;
 Until even you may set a task,
 Too heavy for the poet's powers.

Mortals in vain—so says the Text—
 Seek grapes from briars, from thistles corn;
 Say can fair Wollenluss expect
 Fruit from a withered Scottish thorn?
 Time once there was, alas!—but now
 That time returns not now again.
 The shades upon the Dial cast
 Proceed, but pass not back again.

Yet in this land of lengthened day,
 Where April wears the Autumn's hue;
 Awakened by the genial ray,
 Thoughts of past visions strive to blow.
 The blood grows warm, the nerves expand,
 The stiffened fingers take the pen,
 And ——

Cætera desunt. The 'stiffened fingers' could no longer wield the pen that had once been their most potent weapon; and the

greatest master of language that Scotland had ever seen thus leaves his final sentence incomplete. Well might the Countess for whom these last words were penned, erect a monument to his memory in the Villa Wolkonsky at Rome, bearing the inscription:—

WALTER SCOTT, LA DOUCE LAMPE DES NOTRE VIELLES,
S'EST ETEINT.

It boots not to dwell upon the sad picture of the last days of Scott, or to repeat how he was brought back post-haste that he might breathe his last amid the scenes of the native land he loved so well. He had overtaxed his strength, and nature exacted the penalty; but his last wish was granted. His eyes beheld once more the fertile Vale of Tweed, the mystic Eildon Hill, the romantic pile of Abbotsford, ere they were closed forever. On 21st September, 1832, he died peacefully within the home that he had reared, surrounded by the principal members of his family. When a great writer whose works are known in cottage and in hall, expires in the prime of life, his death affects many as if it were a personal bereavement; but as time rolls on the poignancy of grief is abated, and the departed is apt to slip at last into oblivion. Well is it for such a poet as Sir Walter Scott, when successive generations with one accord combine to keep his memory evergreen.

A. H. MILLAR.

ART. II.—THE GREAT PALACE OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

1. *The Great Palace of Constantinople.* By the late Dr. A. G. PASPATES. Translated from the Greek by WILLIAM METCALFE, B.D. With a Map. (A. Gardner, 1893).
2. *Byzantina.* Obzor glavnykh chastei bolshago dvortsa byzantiiskich tsarei. By D. TH. BIELIAIEV. (St. Petersburg, 1891).

IT was a favourite saying of the Greeks that men, not walls, make the city. But in order to understand the history of

a city and the men who made it, a knowledge of the walls and stones which sheltered them is always a desirable, sometimes an indispensable help. It would indeed be an exaggeration to say that the site of the great palace of Constantinople, and of the other famous buildings, which formed the immediate world of the Basileus, is the key to the history of the Eastern Roman Empire. But it is at least safe to say that many a striking scene in Byzantine history cannot be realized, many an important crisis cannot be followed satisfactorily, as long as our acquaintance with the details of the specially imperial quarter of the imperial city remains deficient. We may go further and assert that the importance of the topography of Constantinople for the history of the State of which Constantinople was the centre, is a distinct feature in that history. The topography of New Rome is of far greater historical significance than the topography of Old Rome. We might read the story of the early Cæsars with ease and profit, though we had not the faintest notion of the relative positions of Palatine and Capitol, Forum and Circus; but it is impossible to follow the fortunes of the later Cæsars without continually feeling the need of a map to assist our investigation, and show us in their proper places, the Palace and St. Sophia, the Augusteum and the Hippodrome. The same comparison might be made with Athens, and in this case the comparison is perhaps more striking, inasmuch as Athenian history is more strictly the history of a city. We can read our Thucydides and Xenophon without ever casting a thought upon the buildings on the Acropolis of Athens, but we cannot read our Procopius or Genesius without having our attention imperatively called to the Acropolis of Byzantium. Is it possible to reconstruct it?

Till the other day we have had none but blind guides to show us our way through the chief region of Constantinople. The fact is that those who occupied themselves with the subject had not sufficient data for the solution of the problem which they dealt with. They had only two clear landmarks. These were the eternal monument of St. Sophia, and the position of the centre of the Hippodrome, which is marked by the preservation of the Egyptian obelisk, the three-headed ser-

pent, and the bronze pillar, which were ranged along the *spina*. These starting points were far from being sufficient to determine the site of the palace. Such a wide field for guessing was left, that guessing was completely futile. From Gyllius to Labarte, it was believed, that not a trace of the Palace had survived, and travellers had not the will or the means to test the verdict of despair. Dr. Paspâtès reviews equitably the blind guides who went before him, and concludes that at least Labarte was a brave man. This French scholar worked with a will at his Constantine Porphyrogennêtos, and the results which he obtained by combining the various statements of that writer, and those published thirty years ago, are by no means fruitless. His work cast no clear light on the position of the Palace; but it threw considerable light on the internal arrangements of the Palace. As for the work of Skarlatos Byzantios, on Constantinople and its environs, with which, as written by a countryman, Dr. Paspâtès has some sympathy, I have found it hopelessly unsatisfactory. There is no index; and when one looks out under the section headed 'Gates,' one finds no mention of the Porta Aurea, or if one seeks among Fora for the Forum of Constantine, one discovers the name indeed, but without any indication of its site.

As long as the Turkish stranger holds both sides of the Bosphorus, there is little likelihood that the topography of Constantinople will be thoroughly cleared up. The archaeologist who pokes about among the squalid Turkish houses, which, worse than mere desolation, cover a large part of the Acropolis, is stoned by the children and mocked by the women. Such were the experiences of Dr. Paspâtès, who was bold enough to pursue methodical investigations in this unpromising field. His energy and perseverance were not unattended by success. He professes to have determined the general site of the Great Palace, and to have established certain new starting points for future investigation. He admits that his reconstruction of the details of the Palace is, of necessity, largely conjectural, in some important respects it approaches very closely that of Labarte, to whom, as he acknowledges, he is largely indebted. But conjectural though

it be admitted to be, it may stimulate future students; and the fact that the author, unlike other writers on the subject, pursued his antiquarian investigations on the spot, impresses a special stamp on his work.

The book, in which Dr. Paspâtès made known the results of his researches to the world, has the qualities which so often mark the work of a discoverer, eager to reveal his new things, unwilling to wait long enough to cast his revelation into form. His *Byzantine Palaces* shows us how he went to work, how his mind travelled, and gives the reader that pleasant impression that he is assisting at discoveries; but when one comes to study it carefully, one is perpetually puzzled and aggravated by the want of arrangement which is conspicuous, by many statements which are obscure or ambiguous, by some which are irreconcilable. To exemplify the haphazard arrangement, I may take Chapter VIII. The subject of the chapter is the Palace of the Daphnê; and yet, at the beginning, without any apparent reason, rooms are described which lay in a totally different part of the Palace, and which, one would think, naturally belonged to the series of buildings described in Chapter VII. Again, it is surely very awkward to interrupt the account of the Palace of the Daphnê by the description of some uncertain chambers and chapels, concerning which Dr. Paspâtès distinctly holds that they were not in the Palace of the Daphnê, and which are marked on the map as considerably south, near the Hall of Justinian (pp. 236-240.)

The confusion which Dr. Paspâtès prepares for his reader by want of explicitness is occasionally very irritating. Thus on p. 233 (trans.) we come to the Gallery of St. Stephen, and at the end of the section read: 'The only entrance was through the Bedchamber above the Octagon, by which the Augusta went to the Gallery of the Daphnê.' Subsequently we often meet 'the Gallery of the Daphnê or Augusteus,' but we are never told where it lies. At length we discover, by reference to the map, that the Gallery of St. Stephen is the same as the Gallery of Daphnê or Augusteus; but of this, the text would never have given us the slightest hint, and moreover, no pass-

age is quoted to prove the identity. Many other instances might be given. Sometimes the translator comes to our rescue, as on p. 242. One resents (p. 134) at meeting something called 'the Athyra' in the text, and being told in the note that 'it was probably so called' from a harbour, without being informed what 'it' was. As for irreconcilable statements, we shall meet with instances presently.

Mr. Metcalfe's translation is of the best kind, scholarly, and hardly ever reminding the reader that the book was not originally written in English. Mr. Metcalfe has gone to the trouble of verifying the numerous citations from the Greek historians. I can testify to the accuracy of his verifications, for having had occasion to turn up a large number of the passages quoted, I found only a single false reference, and that not by any means misleading.* He has adopted the literal, not the Latin, transliteration of Greek names; but it might be wished that he had gone so far as to distinguish η from ϵ and ω from o by the circumflexional mark. The uninformed reader will assuredly take *Tripeton* to be of the same type of word as *Trikonchon*, especially as the Greek form does not happen to occur in the notes. I have noticed only two serious slips. Constantine VII., generally known as Porphyrogennêtos, was the son of Zôê Carbonupsina, not of the Athenian Irênê (p. 56). Irênê's son was Constantine VI. The other error is on p. 189, where we read of 'the reception of the Ambassador from Amerimne.' † There is no such place as 'Amerimne.' These Ambassadors came from the Emir (*ἀμεριμνῆς*) of Tarsus.

After thus much preliminary criticism, which the reputation of the book seemed to demand, it is time to enter upon the attempt, which my paper proposes, to give a 'synthetic' account of Dr. Paspâtês' reconstruction of the Palace. I shall then add a few remarks in criticism of his solution of the problem which he attempted, and consider under what conditions a solution is possible.

It may not be superfluous to remind some readers that the Great Palace, the subject of Dr. Paspâtês' investigations, is

* P. 176, note 2, p. 809, should be 810.

† The words of the author are : ἐν τῇ δοχῇ τῶν πρέσβων τοῦ Ἀμεριμνῆς, p. 173.

distinct from the Palace of Bukoleôn and the Palace of Blachern. The Great Palace was on the Acropolis, adjacent to St. Sophia and the Hippodrome; it was the chief abode of the Emperors throughout the whole period of the greatness of the Empire. But when the seat of Empire was transferred to Nicaea, at the beginning of the thirteenth century, and western usurpers held the City, this Palace fell into disuse; and the minor palaces, that in the suburbs of Blachernae, near the end of the Golden Horn, and that of Bukoleôn, on the sea-shore, a little to the north-east of the Great Palace, were used by the restored Palaeologi.

When Gibbon describes the city of Constantinople as an unequal triangle, having as base the landwall, and as sides the Golden Horn and the Propontis, we must remember that the vertex is blunted, and that the line of coast from the mouth of the Bosphorus to that of the Golden Horn is of considerable length. The northern part of this blunted angle is now occupied by the Seraglio; but the southern region, which the traveller visits for the sake of the Church of St. Sophia and the Mosque of Sultan Achmet, was the centre of political and social life under the Emperors. The Augusteum, a long, open place, stretching almost duly from north to south, according to the view of Dr. Paspâtès, and lined on both sides with public buildings, may be best taken as the centre for describing the relative positions of the edifices which concern us at present. The west side of the Augusteum was, according to this view, bounded by the Hippodrome, the east side by the walls of the Great Palace. It is possible that the place may have been closed at the southern end, but if not, it led there into a region of unimportant dwelling-houses, descending to the sea, where the Bosphorus has already opened into the Propontis. North of the Augusteum stood the Church of St. Sophia, whose east front was divided by only a narrow space from the Palace walls. A man walking up from the south end of the Augusteum would thus have his view filled by the south side of St. Sophia. If, when he reached the north end, instead of advancing to the church, he turned to the left, a main and direct street leading westward would take him to the Gate of Hadrianople.

The Augusteum, between the Hippodrome and the Palace walls, was not an entirely empty space; there was a row of famous buildings and statues on either side. On the east side stood the Patriarch's palace, with its garden, the Senate-house, and the Baths of Zeuxippos. Between the backs of these buildings and the Palace wall ran a thoroughfare called the Passage (*Diabatika*) of Achilles. On the west side, in front of the Hippodrome, were the Chamber of the Milion, the statues of Justinian and of Eudoxia, the Pittakia, and perhaps one or two small churches. There were several gates leading from the Augusteum into the Palace. The most southerly was the Gate of the Skyla, just south of the Baths of Zeuxippos, while the Gate called Monothyros was just north of these Baths. The famous Bronze Gate (*Chalkè*) was between the Senate-house and the Patriarch's palace. There was another gate, the *Porta Regia*, further north, opposite to the east end of St. Sophia.*

Below the Gate of the Skyla, the palace walls bent in a south-easterly direction, and reached the coast near to what is now called the *Karà Kapu*, a name in which the 'Karean Gate' of the Byzantines survives. On the other side, north of St. Sophia, the walls continued in a fairly direct line north-

* Dr. Paspatis' account of the Palace Gates is one of the least satisfactory parts of his work. On p. 41 he says that five gates are mentioned as 'leading from the Palace to the Augustaion,' namely, the four which I have named above, and the Lesser Bronze Gate. He promises to consider these gates more fully afterwards, but he never, as far as I can discover, mentions the Lesser Bronze Gate again. He should at least have said that he cannot identify. Again, his view that the Gate of Meletios is the same as the *Regia*, has no sufficient evidence to support it. On the other hand, it is quite certain that the Great Gate of the *Chalkè* and the Gate of Meletios were the same; cp. Constantine, i. 1, 14, and i. 2, 37. And it is a grave omission, in the discussion of the Gates, to have passed over the passage of Constantine Porphyrogennètos (i., p. 105, ed. Bonn), where the 'northern gate' is spoken of as that by which the Emperor usually issues for processions (*ἐν τῇ πόλει, ἐν ᾗ διέρχεται ἐν ἐκάστῃ προελεύσει ἔχουν τῇ ὁδῇ πρὸς ἀρκτον*.) Which gate was this?—On p. 141 the Gate of Skyla is described as 'to the north of the Great Hall of Justinian;' but elsewhere, and in his plan, the author implies that it was to the west.

ward, and reached the sea where the coast of the Bosphorus begins to trend towards the Golden Horn. The northern limit of the Palace grounds is marked by the remains of an ancient Cyclopean wall, and the extent of the grounds may be judged from the fact that the distance from the Cyclopean wall to the Karean Gate is upwards of a mile, while Dr. Paspates estimates the area of the enclosure at 383,000 square yards. The Great Palace itself was situated in the southern portion of this space; the buildings did not extend beyond a line drawn eastward from St. Sophia. The northern region of the grounds are laid out as a *tzykanistêrion* or polo-ground. The game *tzykan*, which seems to have corresponded in all essential points to polo, was introduced at Constantinople probably from Persia, at a very early period—perhaps as early as the reign of Theodosius II. The Emperor Manuel I. is said to have been nearly killed by a fall from his horse in playing this game, which was probably always one of the chief outdoor amusements of the Imperial Court. Below the *tzykanistêrion*, close to the shore, was the Palace of Bukoleôn, which may be considered as a sort of adjunct to the Great Palace, but which continued to be used when the Great Palace was abandoned.

The Great Palace may be best described as a group of palaces, of which any one alone would have been an abode worthy of an Emperor. These palaces are three, (1) that of the Chrysotriklinos or Golden Hall, (2) that of the Trikonchon or Hall of three bays, (3) the Daphné.* In order to give a general view of the scheme and relative positions of these buildings, according to the reconstruction of Dr. Paspates, take a point in the Palace wall, corresponding roughly to the central point of the east side of the Hippodrome, and draw a line due east. The part of this line nearest to the wall will represent the gallery of the Daphné, while its eastward continuation will correspond to the Gallery of the Forty Saints. These galleries, which are continuous, divide the Palace into two parts. The

* The Magnaura should be considered a fourth. Dr. Paspates does not seem to do justice to the size of the Magnaura.

group of buildings north of the Gallery of the Daphnê is the palace of the Daphnê. The buildings to the south may be divided into three groups: the most westerly, next the wall, consisting of the Numera, the Open Hippodrome, and the Covered Hippodrome*; the central including the Trikonchon, the Sigma and other chambers; the most easterly being grouped round the Chrysotriklinos. South of these buildings, stretching eastward from the Gate of Skyla, ran the spacious hall (*triklinos*) constructed by the Emperor Justinian II.,—the work by which the name of the last of the Heracliads was best remembered at Constantinople. Thus the Hall of Justinian bounded these buildings on the south, just as the Galleries of the Daphnê and the Forty Saints bounded them on the north.

A long passage, called the Hall of Lausos, or the Lausiakos, running from north to south, separated the Palace of the Chrysotriklinos from the Palace of the Trikonchon; but how exactly the Palace of the Trikonchon was separated from, or communicated with, the Covered Hippodrome and the other buildings to the west, Dr. Paspâtês has not determined. To make the scheme of the Palace clearer to a reader who has not the work of Dr. Paspâtês in either its Greek or its English form, let us suppose that a visitor to the Palace is admitted at the Gate of the Skyla. He proceeds straight on, through the Hall of Justinian, and on reaching its extreme end turns to the left, at right angles, and finds himself in the long hall of Lausos. His face is now set north, and when he has traversed this passage, without bending to right or left, he steps into the Gallery of the Forty Saints, and then turning to the left and advancing (westward) along this gallery, passes into the Gallery of the Daphnê, from which, by an opening to the right, he can enter the Palace of the Daphnê. If, before reaching the northern extremity of the Hall of Lausos, he had taken a door to the left, he would have entered the Trikonchon; and if he had taken a corresponding door to the right he would have found himself in the precincts of the Chrysotriklinos.

* The open Hippodrome in the Palace is an invention of Dr. Paspâtês; I cannot find the faintest evidence for it. The Covered Hippodrome was placed in the Palace by Labarte, but without proof.

Supposing him to have taken the door on the right, he would descend a flight of steps into the Tripetôn, a sort of open portico to the Golden Chamber, and identical with the Hôrologion or Clock-room.* Crossing the Tripetôn to a door on its eastern side, the visitor would enter the Golden Chamber, to which I shall presently return. At the south side of the Golden Chamber, silver doors admitted him into the Long Chamber, in the south wall of which there were two doors. Of these doors the eastern led into the Emperor's Bed-chamber, the Western into the Bed-chamber of the Empress. In the western wall of the Long Chamber there was another door which led into the Aristêtêrion or Breakfast Hall; and in the south wall of the Aristêtêrion was a door admitting to the New Chamber. The New Chamber communicated directly with the Bedchamber of the Empress. Returning to the Aristêtêrion one could pass by a door on its northern side into the Tripetôn.†

Thus the Golden Chamber was bounded on the west by the Tripetôn, on the south by the Long Chamber, south of which again were the Bedchamber of the Emperor and Empress, while south of the Tripetôn were, successively, the Breakfast Hall and the New Chamber. The northern boundary of the Golden Chamber was the Gallery of the Forty Saints, while on the east it opened out on a terrace, ἡλιακόν, where the Emperor could enjoy the sun. Adjoining this terrace and in direct communication with the Chrysotriklinos, was the Pharos‡ or beacon tower, where a fire used to be kindled when the news of a Saracen invasion was flashed across the themes of Asia by a line of signalling beacons. Just south of the Pharos was the Church of our Lady of the Pharos, often mentioned

* Dr. Paspaté does not cite any passage which proves the Tripetôn to have been uncovered.

† It must be understood that I am merely expounding Dr. Paspaté. For this and many other of his (as also Labarte's) statements there is no evidence. As for the Aristêtêrion it was, very probably, where Bieljaiev puts it, in the south kamara of the Chrysotriklinos.

‡ Dr. Paspaté discovered a lofty building which he identified with the Pharos, but his reasons are not conclusive.

in history, and the spacious Terrace of the Chrysotriklinos stretched to its door.

The Chrysotriklinos itself was built from the foundation by Justin II., the nephew and successor of Justinian, in the latter half of the sixth century. 'It had eight chambers communicating with a central hall, which was domed, and lighted by sixteen windows. Here stood the throne of the Emperor, and in front of it, as would appear from Constantine Porphyrogennetos, were brazen rails. On either side of the Emperor sat any princes who might be present. The north side of the Chrysotriklinos was called the left, and the south the right, because at ceremonies and banquets the Emperor always stood or sat facing the east. At the east end of the left hand side of the Chrysotriklinos was the Chamber or Chapel of S. Theodore, where the Emperors robed on the occasion of a reception. A curtain was hung before this chamber. Here the Emperor's crown was kept, and Moses' rod was preserved along with many vessels of gold and other precious materials, which Constantine Porphyrogennetos enumerates. The Emperor's mantle and all the rest of his imperial robe were kept in the Chrysotriklinos.'

According to Bishop Liutprand of Cremona, in his account of his embassy to the Court of Nicephorus Phocas, the Golden Chamber was the most splendid part of the whole Palace. If Justin rebuilt it, Theophilus and Constantine VII. did much for its decoration. 'Theophilus made a silver table, "for the accommodation of the guests and the adornment of the Palace," in which so many foreigners and courtiers feasted with the Emperor. A great chandelier hung from the centre of the Hall over the table. The famous golden tree, so often mentioned in accounts of the Palace, was constructed by Theophilus. "Birds sitting on the branches sung by some mechanism, the air being supplied by concealed passages." The walls were ornamented with mirrors and coloured tiles, "affording the more pleasure to the guests owing to the delicious nature of the viands." Besides making the silver doors (into the Tripetôn), Constantine VII. ornamented the walls and ceiling of the Chrysotriklinos with flowers and leaves

framed in silver circles.' In the Golden Chamber the most striking object must have been the Pentapyrgion, of which, unluckily, no accurate description has survived. It was 'a magnificent structure of wood covered over with gold. Within and without it was hung a great variety of decorations, golden ornaments and the imperial robes.' At the feast of Easter it was the custom that a small table should be placed for the Emperor in the Pentapyrgion, while the foreign ambassadors whom he invited dined at the golden table below him. Thus it would seem to have been a sort of throne arranged for the purposes of a dining hall.

The bedchamber known as the New Chamber, which, as we have seen, communicated with the Empress's apartments on the east side, and with the Aristêtêrion on the north, deserves special notice, and has been well described by Dr. Paspâtês. It 'was built from the foundation by Basil the Macedonian. It had a domed roof supported on a series of sixteen marble pillars. Eight were of green Thessalian marble, six of onychite, which the sculptor had ornamented with vines and animals; the other two were decorated with monograms. The walls above the pillars and the eastern semidome were enriched with gold mosaics, representing the builder, Basil the Macedonian, sitting on a throne "surrounded by his generals, offering him, as gifts, the cities which he had taken." On the roof were depicted the labours of Basil, his efforts on behalf of his subjects, and the hardships of his military expeditions. In the middle of the floor was a brilliantly coloured mosaic representing a peacock, framed in Carian marble. In the four corners of the room, which was square, there were four eagles, formed of small stones of various colours. These are described as wonderful works of art, which looked as if they were alive and about to fly away. In addition to so much ornament, the walls bore a representation of Basil and his consort Eudokia in their Imperial robes. Beside them were their children, holding books.'

It is important to get a clear notion of the nature of the ground. The Chrysotriklinos was considerably lower than the western parts of the Palace. We have already seen that a flight of

steps led down from the Lausiakos into the Tripetôn or portico of the Golden Chamber. But if the Lausiakos was higher than the Golden Chamber, the Trikonchon was higher than the Lausiakos. Ascending from the Tripetôn and crossing the Hall of Lausos, one ascended again by a passage called the Vault (*τροπικὴ*) of the Lausiakos, in order to reach the Trikonchon. Mr. Metcalfe does well to point out this configuration of the ground in a special note (p. 209). Perhaps he is hardly justified in going so far as to keep this fact before the reader by translating (p. 205) ἀνέρχεται, in a passage of Constantine, by 'ascends' (as if it were ἀνέρχεται). But it is very unlucky that he has—clearly from inadvertence—made a slip in his translation, which will, it is feared, seriously confuse the reader who has not access to the original. For at the very beginning of the account of the Palace of the Trikonchon, on p. 204, we read:—

'The Palace of the Trikonchon was separated from the higher Palace of the Chrysotriklinos by the passage or gallery called the Lausiakon.'

Proceeding a little further, and finding it expressly stated that there was an ascent into the Trikonchon, and remembering that there was a descent into the Tripetôn, the reader will be sufficiently puzzled. By transposing the word Trikonchon and Chrysotriklinos, he will have the true meaning. The literal translation of the words of Dr. Paspâtês is:—

'The passage or gallery, called the Lausiakos, separated the Palace of the Chrysotriklinos from the higher parts (of the Palace).'

Another confusing statement occurs on p. 208, but is due to Dr. Paspâtês himself. 'North of the Lausiakos stood a building called the Trikonchon.' But the Trikonchon was most distinctly *west* of the Lausiakos, according to the author's own plan.

Ascending then, from the Hall of Lausos, the writer would first reach the chamber of the three bays or apses, the Trikonchon, in the western side of which three doors communicated with a hall shaped like the old form of the Greek letter sigma (C) and hence called the Sigma. The walls of both these rooms were covered with variously coloured marbles, and both were roofed in. Underneath were similarly shaped vaults, to which one went down by spiral stairs. One bay of the vault

under the Trikonchon was built by Theophilos, and called *Mystérion*, the room being a sort of 'whispering gallery.' West of the Sigma was a place called the 'Mystic Phialê,' or Secret Fountain—a court with an apse in which there was a fountain. 'Here there were steps of white Prokonnesian marble, and in the centre of them a marble arch springing from two slender marble pillars. By the eastern side of the adjoining Sigma were two bronze lions, from whose gaping mouths water continually poured, flooding the whole Sigma and refreshing the invited courtiers. On the occasion of a reception, the fountain was filled with pistachios, almonds, and pine-apples,' (p. 213).

Into the rest of the Palace of the Trikonchon, consisting of less important chambers and chapels, in the space south of the three halls, which have been mentioned, I do not intend to enter. A glance at the plan of Dr. Paspâtês will show that a large portion of this space, extending down to the Hall of Justinian, has not been filled up. To the west of this Palace, and stretching the whole way from the Gallery of the Daphnê to the Hall of Justinian, he places the roofed and the unroofed Hippodrome.

From the plan and explanation of Dr. Paspâtês, it would appear that the sight-seer, having reached the Secret Fountain, and wishing to visit the Palace of the Daphnê, might either return by the Trikonchon, and by a door in the north-side of that hall issue into the Gallery of the Forty Saints, and so reach the Gallery of the Daphnê; or else might go directly to the Gallery of the Daphnê, by passing through a western gate from the Court of the Secret Fountain, and taking a passage or path to the right. By whatever way he arrived in the Gallery of the Daphnê, he would turn out of it on the right (north), and his eye would be met by three, possibly connected, buildings; the Church of St. Stephen in the Daphnê, the Octagon, and the Bedchamber of the Daphnê. Dr. Paspâtês conjectures that the Quinisextan Council was held in this Octagon, a building of eight porches.*

* Some note should have been taken of the apparent contradiction between the 'eight porches' of p. 228 (*ὀκτώ στάδας*) and the 'four porches' of p. 231 (*τετραστάδιον*).

But now we are at a loss how to guide our visitor further; we find ourselves in a nest of inconsistencies. From the Bedchamber of the Daphnê, Dr. Paspâtês takes us into the Gallery of St. Stephen, which, he says, (p. 233), was a passage leading from that Bedchamber to the Gallery of the Augusteus (another name for the Gallery of the Daphnê). But when we turn to his plan, we find the Gallery of St. Stephen identified with that of the Augusteus. Our first idea is that the identification in the plan is a mere mistake, but when we read that the Gallery of St. Stephen (p. 234), 'divided the Octagon, the Church of St. Stephen, and the Hall of the Augusteus, from the [Palace] Hippodrome, which lay to the south of them,'—a description which exactly applies to the Gallery of the Augusteus—we are completely puzzled. We have one statement in the text contradicting the plan, and another bearing out the plan.

There is another serious inconsistency of statement, in the same spot, in regard to the Hall of the Augusteus. This hall, we are told on p. 234, 'extended from the Octagon and the Church of the Daphnê to the gallery of the same name' (i.e. of the Daphnê). But a few sentences further on we learn (p. 235) that this hall 'lay north of the Octagon.' Now the Octagon was north of the gallery of the Daphnê, and if the Augusteus extended from the Octagon to the gallery, it cannot be rightly described as north of the Octagon; it would be to the south of it. The plan, not very clear here, indicates the Augusteus as north-east of the Octagon; but if, according to the statement I have quoted, it extended to the gallery of the same name, the true description would be East of the Octagon. I am quite unable to see why Dr. Paspâtês, who has so boldly marked on his plan the boundaries and figures of the other halls and chambers, suddenly becomes shy in the case of the Augusteus, for which, it seems to me, he has quite as much, or rather as little, evidence as for many of the others. On the hypothesis that in the general lines of his reconstruction Dr. Paspâtês were right, the most plausible localization of the Augusteus would surely be east of the Octagon, occupying the whole space from the Gallery of the Augusteus to the Golden

Hand. The statement that the Emperor went through the Augusteus to reach the Octagon (p. 234) is certainly not borne out by the passage adduced to support it;* and when we are told by Constantine Porphyrogennêtos that 'their Majesties change their "pagan" robes in the bedchamber of the Daphne, and going out to the octagonal bedchamber, proceed through the Augusteus,' there is no reason against supposing that, when they issued from the Octagon, they passed along part of the Gallery of the Augusteus, in order to reach the Augusteus itself. The 'great gate of the Augusteus' mentioned by Constantine might easily be supposed to have opened on the Gallery.

I do not intend to escort our visitor further, under the author's guidance, through the intricacies of the Golden Hand and Onopodion, the Consistory and the Lychnoi, the Hall of the Nineteen Accubita,† and the Hall of the Candidates. The method of exposition which Dr. Paspâtês adopted does him so little justice, that I thought it would be only fair to set forth the general outlines of his reconstruction in a clearer and more connected shape, especially as I am unable to accept it. To be quite candid, I cannot regard it as much more than an interesting *tour de force*; for I feel completely sceptical as to the possibility of reconstructing the Palace from the data which we possess at present. Our data are neither ample enough nor precise enough.

And in regard to the two main points which differentiate the theory of Dr. Paspâtês from that of Labarte, I venture to say that Dr. Paspâtês has not made out his case. These two points are the position of the Augusteum and the situation of the Palace of the Daphnê; and the second point depends on the first. In fact, Dr. Paspâtês' peculiar view as to the Augusteum is the key to all the important peculiarities in his scheme.

* Constantine Porph., i., p. 72. The Emperor passes through the Augusteus, but to reach the Onopodion, not the Octagon.

† In regard to this hall, Dr. Paspâtês has fallen into a grave error. He has confused ἀκκοῦβιτα with ἐκκοῦβιτα, and treats the totally different Hall, τῶν ἐκκοῦβιτων, as if it were the same, thus misinterpreting, e.g., Constantine, p. 11, and p. 717.

According to the scheme of Labarte, the Hippodrome adjoined the Palace; the Emperors could enter the *cathisma* or 'Box' of the Hippodrome without crossing any public place. The Augusteum was the open space included between St. Sophia on the north, the Palace wall on the east, and the Hippodrome (with adjacent part of the Palace) on the south. The Palace of the Daphnê lay between the Hippodrome and the Palace of the Trikonchon. The Gallery of the Augusteus ran from north to south, at right angles to the line of the Gallery of the Forty Saints. When Dr. Paspâtês conceived the new idea that the Augusteum divided the Hippodrome from the Palace, he was forced to make certain modifications in the plan of Labarte. The positions of the Golden Palace, of the Halls of Lausus and Justinian, of the Trikonchon and Sigma, of the Gate of the Skyla, were not affected by the whereabouts of the Augusteum; and so they remain the same (apart from questions of detail) on the plan of Dr. Paspâtês as on the plan of Labarte. But it was clear there was no longer room for the Palace of the Daphne in the space to the west of the Palace of the Trikonchon. And consequently Dr. Paspâtês was forced to place the Palace of Daphnê to the north. And as a further consequence, the Gallery of the Augusteus became a continuation of the Gallery of the Forty Saints. Thus the position of the Augusteum is the test question; from it flow, as consequences, the other main peculiarities of the reconstruction.

Now Dr. Paspâtês has not adduced any evidence to establish his first principle. He has not found any certain traces of the Palace wall between St. Sophia and the south quarter of his Augusteum, (for his conjecture about the Numera cannot be regarded as more than a mere conjecture) nor yet to have found or identified in the space corresponding to his Augusteum, the remains of any buildings known to have stood in the Augusteum. And while no passages of our authorities are made more easily explicable by his supposition, some passages become distinctly unintelligible. There are several passages in Constantine Porphyrogennêtos, which imply distinctly and unequivocally, as it seems to me, that the Emperor could pass from the Skyla into the Hippodrome directly without crossing any

public space (e.g. p. 518). If we find an Emperor issuing from the Palace by a gate opposite to the east end of St. Sophia, and passing through the Augusteum to enter the Church, this description can, to say the least, not easily be reconciled with the view that the Augusteum was where Dr. Paspâtês puts it.

The problem which Dr. Paspâtês girded himself up so manfully to solve, is a fascinating one, but at present it is insoluble. Until Constantinople is restored to Europe, or until her present Asiatic rulers sweep away the slums in the neighbourhood of St. Sophia and the Hippodrome, and permit a company of trained archaeologists to excavate, any attempt to reconstruct the Great Palace must be merely an exercise of the fancy. The observations of portions of ancient walls, of vaults, and of isolated old buildings, which Dr. Paspâtês made, are not sufficient to establish identifications. I find myself here in complete accordance with the views of a Russian scholar, D. Th. Bieliaiev, who has recently devoted a volume (the name of which is placed at the head of this article) to an instructive criticism of Labarte. He points out very clearly how the data (mainly contained in the *De Cerimoniis* of Constantine VII.) fall short of satisfying the conditions which must be fulfilled in order to determine a plausible (not to say, probable) construction of the Palace. Of the great rooms, which are so frequently mentioned in connection with the ceremonies, neither the dimensions nor the shapes (except in one or two cases) are given, and in those few cases where the contiguity of two rooms or buildings is certain, the nature of their contiguity is never precisely described. And in the next place, the rooms which Constantine mentions are only those which were used on the occasion of ceremonies—throne-rooms, reception-halls, and such like. We know that there must have been a multitude of other rooms in the Palace—the dwelling-rooms of the various members of the imperial family, and of numerous officials. Without some idea of the number, and some clue to the position of these houses and apartments, it is obviously impossible to define, even in general outline, the plan of the Great Palace. The researches of Dr. Paspâtês serve to stimulate curiosity and provoke further investigation. It is to be hoped that his book,

introduced to the British public in an attractive form by Mr. Metcalfe, will arouse interest in this tantalizing problem, which the presence of the Turkish intruder in Europe prevents us from approaching in the only way which can conduct to even an approximate solution.

J. B. BURY.

ART. III.—SCOTTISH ARMS AND TARTANS.

1. *Ancient Scottish Weapons.* A Series of Drawings by the late JAMES DRUMMOND, R.S.A., with Introduction and Descriptive Notes by JOSEPH ANDERSON.
2. *Old and Rare Scottish Tartans.* With Historical Introduction and Descriptive Notices by DONALD WILLIAM STEWART, F.S.A., Scot.

IN the opening of his lecture on 'The Deteriorative Power of Conventional Art on Nations,' delivered many years ago at the South Kensington Museum, and since published in his volume entitled *The Two Paths*, Mr. Ruskin has dwelt, with all his accustomed eloquence, upon the impression produced on him by a first tour through the north of Scotland. The main fact that fixed itself in the mind of this eminent critic of nature and of art, was the all but utter absence, from the district which he had traversed, of any beautiful works produced by human hands. 'It was the first time in my life,' he says, 'that I had been in any country possessing no valuable monuments or examples of art.' 'The solitary peel-house is hardly discernible by the windings of the stream; the roofless aisle of the priory is lost among the enclosures of the village.' 'The Highland cottage is literally a heap of grey stones, choked up, rather than roofed over, with black peat and withered heather; the only approach to decoration consists in the placing of the clods of protective peat obliquely on its roof, so as to give a diagonal arrangement of lines, looking

somewhat as if the surface had been scored over by a gigantic claymore.'

And as Mr. Ruskin travelled, news were coming, day by day, of the Indian Mutiny, in progress at the time, and of the heroism of the Highland regiments that withstood the rebels; and he was led irresistibly to contrast, in his own mind, the differing moral temper of the two races then in conflict,—the artless and faithful Celt, and the delicately artful, fiercely blood-thirsty, Indian.

But this view of the absence of art and its remains from Scotland, which Mr. Ruskin put so forcibly, is, after all, a very partial and one-sided estimate of the matter. Surely even a passing tourist might have lingered in no unadmiring mood beneath the mighty arches of Elgin, and under the graceful towers of Spynie; and as he stood before the carved stones of Nigg and Dunfallandy, of Shandwick and Kilmartin and Rossie Priory, he might have been led into something like wonder at the richly elaborate decoration which these present, led to 'marvel'—

'That such sweetness so well crowned could be
Betwixt the ice-hills and the cold grey sea'

of our wild northern land.

And his sense of the interesting, individual, and varied art that has been produced among Highland hills would have been deepened, if he had further investigated the subject, and studied the rich artistic relics of the past in Scotland—in metal, leather and wood-work, in stone-carving, and in the decoration of manuscripts—that are preserved in public museums and private collections. Certainly, enough still survives to prove that the Highlanders were very far indeed from being the artless race that Mr. Ruskin would have us believe; to prove, on the contrary, that the North of Scotland possessed, as has been well said by Dr. Joseph Anderson, 'a national school of decorative art, presenting qualities and characteristics which are by no means destitute of merit and suggestiveness, and may therefore possess a higher value and wider utility than mere curiosities in the history of art.'

And if, still further, Mr. Ruskin had bestowed sufficient study upon the art of Scotland to obtain a clear conception of the leading characteristics that distinguish it, he might well have been led to doubt the truth of the position which he adopted, and amplified, in his lecture: he might, at least, have hesitated to adduce the Highlands of Scotland in evidence of that position. For the lecturer proceeded to explain, by the assumption that the pursuit of conventional art degrades a race, the fact that 'the rude cheques of the tartan fold habitually over nobler breasts than are covered by the exquisitely fancied involutions of the Cashmere.' But the truth is that the art which was extensively produced in the Highlands, and was characteristic of the race producing it, was an art as conventional in its method as the art of India ever was. The art that is associated with the Highlands of Scotland was produced by a race substantially Celtic, working under art traditions purely Celtic; and the charm of that art never comes from any close relation that it bears to nature. The closer it approaches to the portrayal of natural form, the more of feebleness and inaptitude it displays. It is weakest of all when it deals with the human form; and in proportion as the figures of animals which it introduces are monstrous and non-natural, just in that degree they are spirited and effective. The whole school of Celtic art is founded upon the delight of the race producing it in the abstract quality of decorative lines—of spirals, interlacements, and curious involutions; lines selected simply for their own independent grace and richness and beauty, apart altogether from any suggestion of the forms of visible things that are presented to us in the natural world.

And, in passing, it may be noticed that Mr. Ruskin's choice, for reproduction, of an example of debased conventional design, an example of 'the hopeless work of all ages,' was made as though with the deliberate design of stultifying his argument. It is a figure from the Psalter of St. John's College, Cambridge, which—though it was perhaps produced in Ireland—is thoroughly representative of the same school of art, and of the same conventional method, as the famous 'Book

of Deer,' also at Cambridge, which was written and decorated in Buchan, Aberdeenshire, and which has been adduced by Dr. Anderson, in his *Early Christian Art*, as one of the most typical examples of the 'libri Scottice scripti.'

For the general reader, who is desirous of obtaining a clear and accurate view of the whole course of early art in Scotland, no better work can be recommended for study than the two interesting volumes of Dr. Joseph Anderson's 'Rhind Lectures' on 'Scotland in Early Christian Times;' but the ample folio whose title I have placed first at the head of this article, enters with greater detail, and with greater adequacy of illustration, into the subject of that art as it is displayed in weapons, articles of personal adornment, musical instruments, and drinking vessels.

The book forms a noble monument to the fine skill and the unwearied enthusiasm of the late James Drummond, R.S.A., the most eminent graphic antiquary that Scotland has produced. Mr. Drummond's whole artistic life was devoted to the illustration of the antiquities of his native country. Almost without exception, his important figure-pictures portray scenes from her history. He painted 'Montrose on his way to Execution,' 'The Covenanters in the Greyfriars Churchyard,' 'The Porteous Mob,' and a multitude of similar subjects, with an earnest care for historical fact, and for archæological accuracy in costume and surroundings, which gives a true value to his works of this class, though their handling is frequently rather hard and laboured, and though, on their purely artistic side, they too often fail of complete success. For indeed, in his best aptitudes, Mr. Drummond was not a figure-painter, but a painter—a draughtsman—of still life. He was, not only archæologically, but also artistically, at his highest, when he was portraying, with rare fidelity and exquisite refinement of touch and colouring, those lovely, time-stained relics of the past which he loved so well, and collected so unweariedly. The hundreds of coloured drawings facsimiled in the present volume of *Scottish Weapons* represent only a small portion of his labours in similar directions; as is proved by his extensive series of drawings of the sculptured monuments of Iona

and the Western Highlands, in the possession of the Scottish Society of Antiquaries, and by his no less valuable series of views of Old Edinburgh Buildings, now exhibited in the Scottish National Portrait Gallery; all of which have been made accessible to the public, in the form of well-executed lithographs.

The value of the present volume is greatly increased by Dr. Anderson's admirable descriptions of the various objects reproduced, and by his introduction summarising their general characteristics. To those who may consult the volume with the view of extending their knowledge of old Scottish art, I would particularly recommend the study of Plates, Nos. xx. to xxv., reproducing Highland powder-horns, so exquisite in the elaborate richness of their carved patterns, which in one case—that of a horn formerly belonging to the Duke of Perth—are relieved in mellow white against a red-stained background. Not less exquisite are the Highland targets, Plates, Nos. i. to vii., with their rich examples of involved decoration, the effect of which is heightened by the introduction of beautifully wrought metal bosses, and, sometimes, by the perforation of the leather coverings, so as to disclose spaces of coloured fabric placed beneath. In this connection, it may be noticed that a particularly fine example of a Highland target, formerly in the possession of the Macdonalds of St. Martins, has recently been added to the Scottish National Museum of Antiquities. Its leather covering is richly tooled with four concentric bands of decoration; the outer one consisting of a series of semi-circular spaces, each of which displays a conventional figure, including lions, unicorns, foxes, birds devouring fish, etc.; the next consisting of alternating compartments of interlacing ornament and of foliaceous forms; while conventional decorative patterns occupy the two inner bands. The surface is further enriched with silver nails of varying sizes, and with a central boss of silver, inscribed with initials—presumably those of the particular Macdonald for whom the target was constructed, and the date 1715.

Turning again to the reproductions of dirks, brooches, and musical instruments, we still find an exquisite decorative

instinct visible in their enrichments, evidence enough that 'love'—love of his craft and love of beauty—has been

'Still at work with the artificer,
Through all his quaint devising ;'

evidence that the old traditions of Celtic art held sway, and produced lovely results in Northern Scotland up till a quite recent period.

I might linger long over the plates of this beautiful volume ; those who have the book open before them will hardly resist the pleasure of doing so ; but I must now pass on to a consideration of the second work whose title I have set at the head of this article, Mr. Stewart's elaborate treatise on *Old and Rare Scottish Tartans*.

Its subject is one so curious and so national that it has naturally attracted much attention ; indeed in the bibliography included in the present volume there are specified thirteen works dealing either exclusively, or in great part, with the Tartans of the Scottish Clans ; and in this list we find no reference to such publications as the above mentioned work on *Ancient Scottish Weapons*, or to Dr. Skene's *Highlanders of Scotland*, or to Lord Archibald Campbell's *Records of Argyll*, all of which contain interesting notes on Tartans and their use. Mr. Stewart, however, may claim to have studied the subject with a care and closeness such as have not hitherto been bestowed upon it. He has exhaustively examined the various collections of old Tartans belonging to the Highland Society of London, Dr. Skene, and other private owners. He has also travelled much in Scotland, to investigate old family portraits in which Tartans appear, and in this way he has been able to correct some of the errors of previous writers : while the illustrations of his volume, being squares of fabrics actually woven, are far more authentic and adequate than the lithographed or hand-coloured plates that have been formerly used.

Mr. Stewart's lengthened preface contains a careful compilation of early references to Highland costume. The first of these occurs in the *Saga of Magnus Barefoot, King of Norway*, 1093-1103, written by Snorro Sturleson, who was reared with

the children of that monarch's daughter. Here it is stated that Magnus and his men, on their return from a marauding expedition to the West of Scotland, 'brought with them a great deal of the habits and fashions of clothing of these western parts. They went about the streets with bare legs, and had short kirtles and over-cloaks, and therefore his men called him Magnus Barefoot or Bareleg.'

In the thirteenth century we seem to have something like a first reference to actual tartans in the statutes of the church of Aberdeen, which provide that 'all ecclesiastics are to be suitably appparelled, avoiding red, green, and striped clothing, and their garments shall not be shorter than the middle of the leg.'

But it should be noticed that the word 'tartar,' which occurs, in the fifteenth century, in the Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland, and which was regarded, by both Borthwick and Pinkerton, as meaning tartan, really indicates, as pointed out by Dr. Dickson, a fabric of eastern origin, frequently 'variant' or shot, the warp and woof being of contrasting colours.

We find, however, a true reference to tartan, in the same Accounts, in the following century; for in August, 1538, there appears an entry for 'iij. elnis of Heland tartane to be hoiss to the Kingis grace,' these 'hoiss' or trews being evidently intended to be worne with 'ane schort Heland coit,' accounted for under the same date.

It may be mentioned that the trews were sometimes worn along with the belted plaid or kilt, though, as far as I know, no modern painter has ventured to represent the combination in any rendering of a scene from Highland history or legend. They appear, worn together, on one of the figures carved on the powder horn figured in Plate xx. of Drummond's *Ancient Scottish Weapons*, and believed to represent Sir George Mackenzie of Tarbert, who was born in 1630; and also in one of the three full-length figures of Lacy, the actor of Charles the Second's time, at Hampton Court, in which he is portrayed as the 'Sawny' of his own play of 'The Taming of the Shrew,' a play which Pepys notes in his Diary that he saw on 9th

April 1667 :—‘It hath some very good pieces in it, but generally is but a mean play, and the best part, “Sawny,” done by Lacy; and hath not half its life, by reason of the words, I suppose, not being understood, at least by me.’ The picture, of Lacy was painted by Joseph Michael Wright, a native of Scotland, who died in 1675, and will be found reproduced by Lord Archibald Campbell in the *Records of Argyll*. In the account of Wright in Walpole’s *Lives of the Painters*, it is stated that ‘two of his most admired works were a Highland Laird and an Irish Tory, whole lengths, in their proper dresses, of which several copies were made.’ It would be interesting, in the present connection, if it were known where these pictures now are.

We have further assurance of the wearing of the trews in combination with the kilt in various contemporary writings, as, for instance, in a letter from Robert Farquharson, a chaplain in Mar’s army in 1715, quoted in the ‘*Costumes of the Clans*, and, still earlier, in Thomas Kirk’s *Tour in Scotland* in 1677, first cited by Mr. Stewart as bearing on this subject of Highland costume.

The ordinary long tight hose, which were a usual article of mediæval dress all over the Continent, have sometimes been mistaken for the Highland trews. Thus Sir John Sinclair, in his article ‘On the Highland Dress,’ in the *Scots Magazine* for October, 1796, refers to ‘an engraving of James I. of Scotland, in the possession of George Chalmers, Esq., of the Board of Trade, in which that monarch is dressed in the close *trews*.’ This book-illustration was known to our earlier Scottish antiquaries only as an isolated print, and this unfortunate fact has led to various curious errors, of which the above is one. The untitled plate has been repeatedly engraved as a portrait of James I., but a reference to the letter-press of the work of which it forms an illustration, Von Ehingen’s *Itinerarium* (Augsburg 1600), shows that it is actually intended as a representation of James II.; and the hose that appear in it are exactly similar to those worn by all the Continental potentates portrayed in the other plates of the book.

Interesting accounts of Highland dress have been preserved

by Bishop Leslie and by George Buchanan, the former apparently indicating that tartan was mainly worn by the upper classes, in a passage quaintly translated from the original Latin by Father James Dalrymple, in 1596, as follows:—‘They al vset mantilis of ane forme, baith the Nobilitie and the com-mone people, excepte that the Nobilitie deilyted mair in coloured claith and sindrie trewis.’ Jean de Beaugué, who accompanied the French troops sent to aid the Scots against the English in 1548, refers, in his history of the campaign published in Paris in 1556, to the ‘certaines convertures legeres faites de laine de plusieurs couleurs,’ worn by the Highlanders at the siege of Haddington; and Nicolay d’Arfeville, Cosmographer to the King of France, in his account of a visit to Scotland, published in Paris in 1583, mentions the Highlanders wearing, ‘like the Irish, a large full shirt, coloured with saffron, and over this a garment hanging to the knee, of thick wool, after the manner of a cassock.’

Among the more interesting of the seventeenth century notices are those of John Taylor, ‘the Water Poet,’ in his *Pennyless Pilgrimage*,—a traveller who had especially favourable opportunities for studying Highland customs, for, during his visit to Scotland in 1681, he resided with the Earl of Mar and other Highland chiefs. It will be remembered that his account of a Highland hunting-match is referred to by Sir Walter Scott in *Waverley*. Again, all through the lines of the *Grameid*, a poem written in 1691, we see the flashings of the coloured tartans. In the closing years of the seventeenth century M. Martin visited the North, and embodied the results of his observation in *A Description of the Western Islands of Scotland*, of which the first edition appeared in 1703, and the second, ‘very much corrected,’ in 1716. This work contains a tolerably full and detailed account of Highland costume, including one particularly significant passage, to which I shall presently return.

In the beginning of the eighteenth century we find in the *Letters from the North of Scotland*, written by Captain Burt, an officer of engineers, entrusted by General Wade with the formation of his famous roads, the most complete account of the Highlands and their inhabitants that had yet appeared.

He gives a full description of the Highland dress, and states 'various reasons both for and against' it. Among the latter he mentions that 'the part of the habit chiefly objected to is the plaid (or mantle),' which, it has been said, 'is calculated for the encouragement of an idle life, in lying about among the heath, in the day-time, instead of following some lawful employment; that it serves to cover them in the night when they lie in wait among the mountains, to commit their robberies and depredations; and is composed of such colours as altogether, in the mass, so nearly resemble the heath on which they lie, that it is hardly to be distinguished from it until one is so near them as to be within their power, if they have any evil intentions; that it renders them ready, at a moment's warning, to join any rebellion, as they carry continually their tents about with them; and lastly, it was thought necessary, in Ireland, to suppress that habit by Act of Parliament, for the above reasons, and no complaint for the want of it now remains among the mountaineers of that country.' On the other hand, he tells us that 'it is alleged the dress is more convenient to those who, with no ill design, are obliged to travel from one part to another upon their lawful occasions, viz., 'that they would not be so free to skip over the rocks and bogs with breeches as they are in the short petticoat,' that they would suffer more from the dampness of their climate, and from the necessity of wading through the streams; that the distances from one place of shelter to another are so great, that travellers must often lie in the open, where the plaid is the best possible covering, and finally, that 'a few shillings will buy this dress for an ordinary Highlander, who, very probably, might hardly even be in a condition to purchase a Lowland suit, though of the coarsest cloth or stuff, fit to keep him warm in that cold climate.' He adds, 'the whole people are fond and tenacious of the Highland clothing, as you may believe by what is here to follow,' and he goes on to relate an anecdote of a companion, 'a Highland gentleman, who was one of the clan through which I was passing. I observed the women to be in great anger with him about something that I could not understand; at length I asked him wherein he had offended

them? Upon this question he laughed, and told me his great-coat was the cause of their wrath, and their reproach was that he could not be contented with the garb of his ancestors, but was degenerated into a Lowlander, and condescended to follow their unmanly customs.' Among Captain Burt's other remarks, he mentions that few besides gentlemen wore the trowze, and that they were a part of 'full dress,' chiefly worn 'in the lowlands, or when they make a neighbouring visit, or go anywhere on horseback,' the kilt being ordinarily worn when they travel on foot.

During the period immediately following the Union, and for some years later, the wearing of tartan plaids seems greatly to have increased in the Lowlands, their assumption forming a kind of silent protest of Scottish nationality. Ramsay of Ochtertyre, writing in 1795, tells us that 'in 1747, when I first knew Edinburgh, nine-tenths of the ladies still wore plaids, especially in church. By this time, however, silk or velvet cloaks of one form or another were much in request among people of fashion. And so rapidly did the plaid wear out, that when I returned to Edinburgh, in 1752, one could hardly see a lady in that piece of dress.'

Among the results of the Rebellion of 1745 was the Act of the following year, which provided that—'From and after the first day of August, one thousand seven hundred and forty seven, no man or boy within that part of Great Britain called Scotland, other than such as shall be employed as officers or soldiers in his Majesty's forces shall, on any pretence whatsoever, wear or put on the clothes commonly called Highland Clothes (that is to say) the Plaid, Philibeg, or little Kilt, Trowse, Shoulder belts, or any part whatsoever of what peculiarly belongs to the Highland garb; and that no Tartan or party-coloured plaid or stuff shall be used for great-coats, or for upper coats,' on a penalty of six months imprisonment for the first offence, and, for the second, of transportation 'to any of his Majesty's plantations beyond the seas, there to remain for the space of seven years.'

The Act was not only regarded in the Highlands as a national insult, but its requirements were found to be practic-

ally most inconvenient by an active race, accustomed to the unconfined freedom of limb afforded by their ancestral garb. The tight breeches of the Southerner were especially unendurable. Various evasions of the Act were resorted to. Sometimes the kilt was stitched together between the thighs, so as to present a colourable resemblance to the lowland trousers. Sometimes, according to General Stewart, in his *Sketches*, the breeches were duly purchased, and instead of being worn on the limbs, suspended on a stick over the shoulders, as a sign of submission, while their owner strode along in all the freedom of a much airier nether covering!

But while the requirements of the Act were rigorously insisted upon in the Highlands, the sale and wearing of tartan seems to have continued uninterruptedly in the Lowlands, for Mr. Stewart quotes advertisements from the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* of 1760, in which the sale of the stock of 'William Watson, in the front of the New Exchange of Edinburgh,' including 'tartans of all kinds,' is announced, and 'James Baillie, Merchant in Edinburgh,' intimates the removal of his warehouse 'to the Exchange, fronting the Tron, where Tartans and Plaids with other goods are sold as formerly.'

Finally, a Bill for the repeal of the obnoxious Act of 1746 was introduced into the House of Commons in 1782, by the Marquis of Graham, afterwards Duke of Montrose, and passed without a dissentient voice. The wearing of the national garb was speedily resumed in the Highlands; and the Rev. John Lane Buchanan, in his *Travels in the Western Islands from 1782 to 1790*, refers to 'the short coat, the feilabeg, and the short hose' worn by the men. 'Their coats are common tartan, striped with black, red, or some other colour, after a pattern made upon a stick, of the yarn, by themselves, or some other ingenious contriver. Their waistcoats are either of the same, or some such stuff; but the feilabegs are commonly of breacan, or fine Stirling plaids, if their money can afford them.'

In his Introduction Mr. Stewart does not enter upon the interesting subject of the adoption of Highland tartans as part of the uniforms of the British army. According to Lord Archibald Campbell, when the independent companies, known

as *Am Freiceadan Dubh*, were raised, they wore 'their own clan tartans,' such as those of the Campbells, Grants, and Munroes; and that, when four additional companies were raised in 1739, the various tartans were merged by design,—when the tartans now known as the 42nd was made out, and the 43rd Regiment, now 42nd, clothed uniformly in the same.*

From the extracts that I have quoted, and from the others cited by Mr. Stewart, it is evident that tartans have been worn in the Highlands from an early period: but the question of when the various 'setts' were assumed as the distinctive dress of different clans, is a difficult and perplexing one. Mr. Stewart's careful researches have brought together a few passages, from early writings of various kinds, bearing upon the subject, though the evidence they furnish is slighter and more indefinite than one might have desired.

The earliest of these is a curious and interesting one, occurring in a Crown Charter, dated 19th March 1587-8, granting a lease of the lands of 'Nerrabolsadh,' in Islay, to Hector Makclene, son and heir-apparent to Lachlan Makclene of Dowart. The feu-duty payable by him is specified as 'Ix ellis claith quhite blak and grene cullouris respective,' or their equivalent in money. The same feu-duty, as due by 'Hector M'Clane,' is again mentioned in the entry of the lands—which had formerly belonged to 'the Abbot of the Isle of Iona,'—in the 'Register of the Temporalities of the Crown.' But in 1617 a Crown Charter grants the same feu to Rorie M'Kenzie of Cogeauche, and now the duty is specified in the reddendo as 'thrie-scoir ellis of quhyte, blak, and gray claith respective.' Again, in 1630, the lands return to the Makclene family, to Lauchlane Makclene of Dowart and his heirs, and the original colours are restored in the specification of the feu-duty required—'thrie score elnis of claith quhyte, blak, and gras cullour.' Now the colours mentioned in the cloth to be furnished by the Makclenes are those which have always been regarded as forming the MacLean tartan, the colours referred to the old Gaelic song—

* *Records of Argyll*, p. 443.

'Breacan unain' 'us dubb 'us greal ;
 Daha sar Mhich-Ghillian am flath'
 'The plaid of green and black and white ;
 The colours of the brave MacLean,'

which are reproduced in the plates of the present work as 'MacLean, Hunting.'

In Martin's *Description of the Western Islands of Scotland*, which, as I have already said, embodies the results of its author's travels in the end of the seventeenth century, it is noted that 'Every Isle differs from each other in their Fancy of making *Plads*, as in the Stripes, in Breadth, and Colours. This Humour is as different through the main land of the *Highlands*, in-so-far as they who have seen those Places are able, at the first view of a man's *Plad*, to guess the Place of his Residence.'

There exist a few interesting references to the tartan worn by the Clan Grant, which may be quoted. On the 23rd July 1703, we find Captain Hamilton writing, from Inverness, to Brigadier-General Maitland, Governor of Fort-William, 'I wrote to you on Tuesday last in answer to your last letter to me, but I neglected to acquaint you of our news here. The thing is, there is a match of Hunting to be, as is said, against 2nd of next month, amongst several of our great folks, particularly the Duke of Hamilton is to be there, the Marquis of Athole, and our neighbour the Laird of Grant, who has ordered 600 of his men in arms, in good order, with Tartane coats all of one colour and fashion. This is his order to the people of Strathspey. If it be a match at Hunting only I know not, but I think it my duty to acquaint you, whatever may fall out, of any such body of men in arms, particularly our Northern Parts.'

Two other curious extracts, of a slightly later date, regarding the Grant tartan are given—for the first time in their entirety—by Mr. Stewart, from the Court Books of the Regality of Grant. The first is from an entry of a 'Court of the Lordship of the parochine of Duthell,' held on 20th July, 1704, in which 'Ronald Makdonald of Gelloway and Archibald Makdonald of Tulloch Combie, wassales of Luga in Badzenoch to

the Right Hon^{le}. Ludovick Grant of that Ilk and the tennantes and indwellers on these lands,' are ordered to have 'readie tartan short coates throwes and short hose of red and green set dyce all broad springed betuixt [?] and the eight of August nixt and to be readie upon 48 hours advertisement to rendezvous when the Laird of Grant shall call them for his hosting or hunteing under the failie of fyve pounds sterling.' The second entry is from the record of a 'Court of the Landes of Tulchine and Skieradvey,' held at Delay upon the 27th July, 1704, when, 'by order from the Laird of Grant, younger,' it was enacted that 'the haille tennantes cottars malenders tradesmen and servantes within the saidis landis of Skearadvie Tulchine and Calender that are fencible men shall provyd and have in readiness against the eight day of August nixt ilk ane of them Heighland coates trewes and short hose of tartan of red and greine sett broad springed and also with gun sword pistoll and durk, and with these present themselves to ane rendswouzse when called upone 48 hours advertisement within the country of Strathspey, for the said Laird of Grant or his father their hosting and hunting. And this under the failie of twenty poundes Scotis ilk ane that shall faill in the premisses. And the Master to outrig the servantes in the saids coates trewes and hose out of their fies.'

These entries certainly indicate that the Laird of Grant, and his son who was acting for him, had very definite ideas on the subject of their clan tartan, and were resolved that it should be adopted by all their dependents; but it should be mentioned that the 'red and greine sett,' referred to above, is far from identical from the only Grant tartan figured by Mr. Stewart, in which black squares and a thin white line appear prominently. Mr. Stewart's example was reproduced from a portrait of Robert Grant of Lurg (1678-1777) at Troup House, who also appears in another portrait at Castle Grant in the 'Black Watch tartan.' But the extraordinary diversity of tartans worn by members of the house in the portraits at Castle Grant painted by Richard Waitt, goes far to prove that during the earlier years of the eighteenth century, little uniformity of tartan had been preserved by that clan at least.

At a somewhat later period than 1704 there is an indication that the various branches of the Macdonalds were similarly tartaned in a passage occurring in *A Journal of the Expedition of Prince Charles Edward, in 1745, by a Highland Officer*, published in the second volume of the *Lockhart Papers*. Here the writer states that, 'We M'Donalds were much perplex'd in the event of an engagement, how to distinguish ourselves from our brethren and nighbours, the M'Donalds of Sky, seeing we were both Highlanders and both wore heather in our bonnets, only our white cocades made some distinction.

The above reference to the pictures at Castle Grant brings us to a consideration of what evidence, as to the early existence of clan tartans, is afforded by the surviving examples of Scottish portraiture. Into this part of his subject Mr. Stewart has entered with the care and perseverance that has marked all his investigations. As I have already said, he has traversed the length and breadth of Scotland, nay he has even crossed the seas and visited its Western Islands, to examine portraits in which tartans are introduced; and the results of his research have been embodied in the present volume, and in an interesting series of notes contributed to the *Scottish Antiquary* of September, 1892, and January and April, 1893.

The believers in the antiquity of distinctive clan tartans would surely have expected to find that in early portraits depicting a chief or an important member of a Highland house, in his national garb, the tartan introduced would be that of his clan. The facts disclosed by Mr. Stewart's researches are far other; and the results of his investigations must be pronounced to be very definitely unfavourable to the theory of the early adoption of distinctive and differentiating clan tartans.

The ten portraits of members of the Clan Grant, at Castle Grant, painted by Richard Waitt, between 1713 and 1725, disclose 'a variety of design well-nigh as great as would be the case in an an equal number of examples selected at random from as many different families. . . . Similar remarks might be made concerning other family portraits. For example, in the MacDonald portraits at Armadale, there are at least six distinct setts of tartan. The Campbell portraits at

Loudoun Castle and Langton House exhibit equal diversity, while differing at the same time from any of the Campbell setts at present in use. In the same way the pictures of the Sutherland family at Dunrobin and Barrogill, the MacDonell portraits at Balgownie, and the MacLeod at Dunvegan, the Drummond at Gordon Castle and Drummond Castle, the Macpherson at Cluny, the Frasers in Inverness-shire, show remarkable variety in arrangement.' Mr. Stewart further adds that 'whatever the reason of this, it assuredly did not arise from carelessness or ignorance on the part of the artists employed. On the contrary, in the great majority of the pictures referred to, painful attention has been paid to minuteness and accuracy in details of dress, and the sett of a tartan is reproduced in different portions of a costume with a faithfulness which leaves no room for doubt that the artists were studiously copying distinct patterns.'

In further illustration of this important part of the subject I may quote a few notes from Mr. Stewart's articles in the *Scottish Antiquary*. In the portrait of Alastair Macdonell of Glengarry—who played an important part in the Forty-five—attended by a servant, at Balgownie, 'both figures are dressed in tartans which, while closely decipherable, differ from each other and from any pattern at present in use, and bear not the slightest resemblance to the modern Glengarry or other Macdonald tartan.' In his *Old and Rare Scottish Tartans*, however, Mr. Stewart identifies the tartan worn by Glengarry as that of the MacIans, and explains its appearance here by the fact that the MacIans were a branch of the Clan Macdonald. The portrait of John Campbell, Lord Glenorchy, afterwards Earl of Breadalbane, at Langton, painted by Kneller in 1708, 'shows a tartan carefully drawn,' which 'differs utterly from any known Campbell pattern, and this is the earliest record of what must be regarded as a clan pattern of the Campbells, if clan tartans were then in use, as commonly alleged.' In the portrait of Kenneth, 3rd Lord Duffus, who was involved in the rising of 1715, at Barrogill Castle, Caithness, the tartan 'is a pleasing arrangement of red, green, and white, altogether different from the presently accepted pattern of the families of

Sutherland and Sinclair, to which Lord Duffus belonged.' In the portrait of Norman, 19th chief of the MacLeods, at Dunvegan Castle, 'red is the predominant colour of the tartan plaid, while coat and throws are of the "Rob Roy" check, tartans entirely different from that now assigned to the family.'

It may further be mentioned that in the portrait of Flora Macdonald, painted by Allan Ramsay, in the Bodleian at Oxford, certified as undoubtedly authentic by a contemporary engraving in mezzo-tint by M'Ardell duly titled with her name, she wears a plaid of red and green, quite different from the tartan associated with the clan.

The fact is that in his whole book Mr. Stewart has not been able to instance one single tartan that he has reproduced, as appearing in a portrait of a member of the clan to whom he assigns it, painted earlier than the latter part of the eighteenth century. Exceptions might be made in the cases of Plate i., 'The Lord of the Isles,' Plate ii., and Plate xxxix., which has been variously regarded as representing the Countess of Lennox and her daughter-in-law, Queen Mary, but in these three cases the tartans, in their peculiar characteristics, have been simply reproduced from portraits, and they are not known to exist, as figured, in any old examples of fabric.

Many of the illustrations of the volume have been reproduced from fragments of tartan that are undoubtedly old, and they thus form interesting records of what certainly formed part of Scottish national costume in the past; but such evidence as has been adduced to prove that they have been associated, from any remote period, with the families with whose names they have been titled, is far less conclusive than could be desired by the believers in the early origin of clan tartans.

There are a few other interesting early representations of Scottish costume, which might fittingly have been referred to in the volume now under consideration. Thus Pinkerton, in his *Scottish Poems*, and John Sobieski Stuart, in the *Vestiarium Scoticum*, refers to a print in the *Recueil de la diversité des Habets qui sont de present en usage* (Paris, 1562), in which there appears 'an illustration of tartan, in the figure of a Low Country Scot, engraved in a professed collection of the costumes

of various nations.' Upon this print, figured in Pinkerton's work, the latter writer remarks that 'the indications of tartan are in the trowsers of the figure, which are striped in triple lines, expressing distinct sets similar to those of the clan Gregor and some other patterns. These lines, however, are only given in the horizontal course; and for this reason Pinkerton, with his accustomed presumption, passes the figure without notice; and because that of the Highland chief, in the same collection, is given in a *frieze* and not a tartan plaid, he concludes that tartan did not exist at the period. But the frieze plaid was only one of the varieties of habit in which the Highland dress, like every other, possessed a diversity for various purposes. . . . Hence, in the entries of the Royal Wardrobe and Treasury, mention is made of "ane heland mantill of blak freis," and "heland tartaine to be hoise to the Kingis Grace," twenty-four years before the time of which Pinkerton doubted its existence in the Highlands.'

It would have been interesting if we had been furnished with some account of the drawings of old Scottish costume included in the marvellously rich and extensive collection of drawings and other reproductions of objects of antiquarian interest brought together by François-Roger de Gaignières about the close of the seventeenth century, and now in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. In the very useful catalogue of that collection, published in 1891 by M. Henri Bouchot—a catalogue including no fewer than 7321 items—the water-colours that I refer to appear as Nos. 1696 to 1701 inclusive, and comprise representations titled 'Gentilhomme écossais;' 'Dame du royaume d'Ecosse;' 'Chambrière d'Ecosse;' 'Capitaine ou chef de clan;' 'Soldat écossé;' and 'Femme des montagnes d'Ecosse.'

It would also be interesting to know whether the volume of water-colour drawings by Lucas d'Heere, titled *Théâtre de tous les peuples et nations de la terre avec leurs habits et ornemens* . . . and preserved in the library of Ghent, contains any representations of Highland costumes. In 1554, and again in 1568, d'Heere visited England, where he painted Queen Mary

Tudor and Queen Elizabeth, and, among Scottish personages, Lord Darnley and his brother Charles.

Again, there are preserved at Taymouth Castle some interesting works of art that bear upon the subject of Highland Costume. Among these is the celebrated 'Genealogical Tree of the House of Glenorchy,' which was recently before the public in the Edinburgh Heraldic Exhibition of 1891. It is signed by George Jamesone of Aberdeen, the well known portrait painter, and bears the date of its execution, 1635. Various circular bust-portraits of chiefs of the House of Glenorchy are introduced among the branches of the tree, all of them appearing in the doublet or cloak which was the usual Lowland costume of the time. But at the foot of the tree is one full-length seated figure, representing the founder of the house. Jamesone's authority for the features of this personage was a portrait, nearly to the waist, which he found hanging in his patron's castle, but for the rest of the figure he was left to his own devices. He has chosen to represent his subject as a Highlander in the national garb of kilt and short hose; and here, surely, we should expect to find a representation of the Campbell tartan, if any such tartan had been identified with the clan in the early part of the seventeenth century. But the painter, working at the time in the heart of the Campbell country, and in the castle of its chief, and portraying the 'first stock-father' of the race, depicts a simple red kilt and mantle, both of that single colour, with short hose of a diced pattern of red and yellow.

Several other curious and still earlier representations of Highland chieftains occur in the coloured illustrations to the Black Book of Taymouth, preserved in the Marquis of Breadalbane's charter room. The compilation of this manuscript was begun before 1598 by Master William Bowie, family notary to Sir Duncan Campbell, 7th Laird of Glenorchy, and tutor to his children, and its pages are enriched with many full-length figures of the various magnates of the house. All of these, with the exception of 'Dominus Duncanus Campbel de Lochow,' who wears a red cloak, with a green collar, over a shirt of chain-mail, appear in the suits of plate armour; but several of

them show parti-coloured drapery, in the form of scarfs worn over the left shoulder. The defenders of the antiquity of clan setts would surely have expected to find in these examples of the Campbell tartan. They not only bear no resemblance to the Campbell pattern, but also differ among themselves, one from the other. 'Archibaldus Campbell Comes de Argyll, Primus,' wears a white scarf striped with yellow and blue; the 1st Laird has one of green, striped with red, the 2nd and 4th Lairds appear in scarfs of red striped with gold, and the 3rd in a yellow scarf, striped with gold.

There is another, more important, picture, introducing tartans upon which I could have desired Mr. Stewart to have recorded his opinion. I refer to the curious and carefully executed battle-piece, 'An Incident in the Scotch Rebellion of 1745,' painted, contemporaneously, by David Morier, for the Duke of Cumberland, and recently discovered in a lumber-room in Windsor Castle. In this work, the varied tartans worn by the Highlanders are portrayed with a minuteness of detail, which suggests that the actual fabrics must have been before the artist as he painted. Lord Archibald Campbell gives a coloured reproduction of the painting in his *Children of the Mist* (Edinburgh, 1890), where also the curious Highland figures on the title-border of Blaeu's map of Scotland, 1645, one of them wearing the belted plaid in combination with tartan trews, are copied as a head-piece. In one of the tartans appearing in Morier's picture, Lord Archibald believes (Letter in *Glasgow Herald*, 12th June, 1890), that he recognises the Macdonald sett.

There are several of Mr. Stewart's references to specific works of art that call for remark and dissent. The cabinet-sized portrait that has been regarded by some as an authentic likeness of the Countess of Lennox, and by others as portraying her daughter-in-law, Queen Mary, from which the tartan of plate xxxix. has been copied, has no claim to be regarded as a work of the sixteenth century. It has none of the characteristics of the period assumed, or of a copy from a work of that period; and the features that it presents by no means answer to those in the various authentic portraits of Queen

Mary, or to those of the Countess of Lennox at Dalmahoy, and in Hampton Court.

Again, in his references* to the costume appearing in the cabinet-sized, full-length, by Waitt, at Newhall House, Midlothian, dated 1715, and absurdly marked as representing 'the old Pretender,' Mr. Stewart has fallen into error. He calls it 'a rather unusual riding costume of considerable interest.' Certainly such a habit would form 'a rather unusual riding costume.' There is not the slightest doubt that the dress is simply the new uniform adopted by the Royal Company of Archers of Scotland about 1713, which consisted of, a coat of Stewart tartan, with lining of 'fine white shallon, (afterwards changed to anything white, except silk), and white stockings, with a white . . . bow-case, with a green worsted bob, and a blue bonnet with a St. Andrew, and a coque of white and green ribbons . . . the officers are allowed to trim and adorn them . . . as they think proper, according to their rank.' Judging from my notes, made before the picture some years ago, I should think that the costume is in quite substantial agreement with that appearing in the full-length portrait, believed to represent David, Earl of Wemyss, Captain-General of the Archers from 1715 to 1720, reproduced in Mr. Balfour Paul's history of the company. In the Newhall picture, the figure holds in his hand a bow, and behind him appears the old Parliament House, Edinburgh, and the statue of Charles II. The locality was one intimately associated with the archers, for in 1713 the company obtained a grant from the city of a piece of ground to the west of the Parliament House, on which to erect their butts.

As an archer is represented in this work, and as the only portraits hitherto associated with the name of Waitt are those portraying members of the various branches of the house of Grant, I have a strong suspicion that the picture now under consideration represents Archibald Grant, younger, of Cullen, (son of Lord Cullen the judge), who passed as an advocate on 13th November, 1714, and appears to have died about 1778.

* In *Scottish Antiquary*, January, 1893, p. 100.

He was admitted a member of the Royal Company of Archers on 4th October, 1714. The portrait is a very interesting example of Scottish costume, and a careful and certified copy of it would form a desirable addition to the works of art and objects of antiquarian interest which already adorn the Archer's Hall in Edinburgh.

A consideration of the subject of the adoption of distinctive clan tartans in Scotland would be greatly simplified if we were able to accept, as trustworthy, a work which I have repeatedly mentioned in the present article, the *Vestiarium Scoticum*.

This treatise upon Scottish tartans was published in 1842, 'from the manuscript formerly in the library of the Scots College at Douay, with an Introduction and Notes by John Sobieski Stuart,' one of the two brothers, so well known in their day in Edinburgh society, who claimed, in a more or less definite way, to be the legitimate grandsons of Prince Charles Edward Stuart. In the preface it is stated that the MS., at the time of publication, was in the possession of the editor: that it was 'a small black-letter quarto of the sixteenth century, containing thirty-four pages of vellum, illuminated with small, plain capitals, such as the ordinary initials of inferior missals: ' that it had belonged to John Leslie, Bishop of Ross, the devoted adherent of Queen Mary, and bore a dated note in his hand-writing with his signature; that it had passed, with other of his papers, into the library of the Scots College at Douay; and had been given to Prince Charles Edward Stuart, along with 'many papers which had belonged to Queen Mary, her adherents, and King James the Seventh,' when he visited the seminary between the years 1749 and 1754.

The editor further states that this MS. had been collated 'with the transcript of another in the library of the Monastery of St. Augustine, in Cadiz,' but he has left doubtful the ownership of this second MS. at the period of his writing, for, on the following page of his preface (p. iv.) he states that it belonged [in the past tense] to the library of the Convent of St. Augustine, while, at the opening of his succeeding paragraph, the

word 'also' seems to indicate that this MS. was then in his own hands.* This second MS. is described as 'a small paper folio, bound in panel, written in the ordinary running hand of the time of James the Sixth,' and bearing an inscription indicating that it had belonged to 'ane honerabil man, Maister James Dunbarr w^t in y^e burg of Invernesse, in y^e yeir of God ane thousand sax hunder and aucht yeirs,' and on the cover the name of a subsequent owner, 'Johan O'Neil, cleric.'

A third copy 'also' in the editor's possession, is stated to have been obtained from 'an old Ross-shire Highlander, named John Ross, one of the last of the sword-players, who may yet be remembered by those who recollect the porters of Edinburgh twenty years ago. It is an inferior modern copy, bearing the stigmata of various barbarous hands,' among the rest several signatures of a certain John and Mayre Inglis, dated 1721. The editor conjectures that this MS. may have been copied from an original differing in some degree from the two above mentioned; but 'the principal deviation is the transposition of some of the low country names bordering upon the Highlands, and which, in the two oldest MSS., are given in the low country division, but, in that of 1721, are included among the Highland clans.'

In addition to these three MSS. the editor informs us that, 'according to a notice communicated by Lord Lovat, it appears that another was long in the possession of the Frasers of Inchberry. Since the removal of that family, it is supposed to have been taken to America, and is described as a small quarto MS., in black letter, containing not only a description, but illuminations, of all the clan tartans. If this tract was not the *Vestiarium Scoticum*, it must have been one containing a more elaborate illustration of tartans than the work of Sir Richard Urquhart, and of which I have discovered no other copy.'

The *Vestiarium Scoticum*, the composition of which is dated

* In his *Reply*, however, (Edin., 1848) he states that it had been discovered in the Monastery of St. Augustine by an Irish priest, in 1823, and was lost when the Convent was suppressed, along with the other religious houses of the Peninsula.

by the editor as 'not older than the latter part of the fifteenth century,' and 'not later than the reign of James the Third,' opens with an introduction in which the writer laments that 'in this pres^t tymes bene sene dyuers oncothe chavnges in the auld Scottysche fassoune, and men do now effect foreigne and stravnge fantasyes, radder nor sic holsom vse and ordyr as cometh of ye ain native gyise and hes ben vsit be our forbeires yn the aulde tyme,' and indicates that the work has been compiled as 'ane mirroure to schewe ye trewe Tertaynis of the principal scottysche families, and especiale of the hielande clannes, alsua the enyes or cognyzaoncis of ye samen.' There follows a disquisition 'of the settiss or stryppis and coulouris of terteinis;' and then comes a description of the tartans of the various chief Highland clans, so minute that coloured drawings or woven fabrics could be accurately executed from them. In like manner, the tartans of the smaller Highland families are detailed, and those of the Low country or Border clans. These are succeeded by brief notes on the plaids worn by women, and on hose and trews; and a poem concludes the work, its opening lines entreating 'Damis and lerdyngis yt heron wyt' to—

'Pray for Schyr Richard Urquharde, knight,
That made y^e boke,'

a personage of whom nothing further has been discovered.

A marvellous and interesting manuscript, surely, if an authentic one! But authentic, the best judges have hitherto been by no means inclined to regard it.

In 1829, only one of the three MSS., that assigned to the year 1721, was in the possession of John Sobieski Stuart. It was lent to Sir Thomas Dick Lauder, who was much interested, copied a portion of it (in a version, containing some humorous and absurd travesties, now in the possession of his daughter), and brought the matter under the attention of Sir Walter Scott, sending him his own transcript. Scott replied, expressing the gravest doubts as to the authenticity of the work, though intimating that, if its genuineness were established, there would be no difficulty in inducing the Bannatyne Club to aid in its publication; but, very properly, stating that he

considered it indispensable that the original MS. should be submitted to the scrutiny of such a skilled expert as Mr. Thomson of the Register House. On being communicated with, John Sobieski Stuart expressed perfect willingness to have the original MS. properly examined; but his father, J. T. Stuart Hay, in whose possession it then was, definitely refused his consent. There is a curious sentence in his letter to his son conveying his refusal. 'You ought,' he writes, 'to have remembered the private memorandums written on the blank leaves, and that it was impossible, coupled with other circumstances, to subject them to common curiosity, which neither I nor you can think of for a moment to reclaim the whole history and use of tartans from oblivion.' In another letter of the same period, giving a description of the original MS., Mr. Stuart Hay states that 'I have never heard of any other MS. copy of the work than that in our possession, but there was a printed copy made by order of the late Prince, with an introduction, describing the book, and containing facsimiles of the capitals, and the Bishop of Ross's date. By the former it appears that the original had been in the Library of the Scots College of Douay, and from it was removed, with many other MSS. of the body, and presented to His Royal Highness some time afterwards. The printed copy was in possession of His Royal Highness the Cardinal of York, a short time before his death, and is supposed to have fallen into the hands of the English Government, and along with what they obtained of the Stuart Papers.'

The *Vestiarium Scoticum*, after its publication in 1842, was subjected to various unfavourable and sceptical criticisms. The most important of these appeared in *The Quarterly Review*, from the pen, as is understood, of Professor George Skene of Glasgow, and chiefly founded upon materials furnished by Dr. Mackintosh Mackay. To its various objections John Sobieski Stuart responded, in *A Reply to the Quarterly Review upon the Vestiarium Scoticum*, (Edinburgh, 1848), a pamphlet written with much spirit and vigour, and advancing arguments of considerable cogency. It should be noted—what Mr. Stewart has failed to record—that in this *Reply* it is stated that the 1721 version of

the MS., 'the only copy in Great Britain,' had been deposited at 25 Heriot Row, Edinburgh, 'where it will be exhibited to all who may desire its inspection;' but I have not been able to ascertain that this permission was taken advantage of by any skilled expert. It is curious that in the *Reply* no information is afforded of the resting-place of the *original* MS., which six years previously had been in the possession of John Sobieski Stuart.

I cannot, at present, enter on an examination of this curious work, the *Vestiarium Scoticum*. In order to deal with it adequately, a separate and lengthened article would be required. And the moment is not yet ripe for such an investigation; for it has been recently announced that one of the MSS. of the work, understood to be that of 1721, has been discovered by a member of the Lyon Office, already known as a student of Scottish antiquities, and that the results of his examination and investigations may be looked for. When these have been placed before the public I may return to the subject.

In the meantime, I may conclude by remarking that, even if the authenticity of the *Vestiarium* were established beyond a doubt—and this I do not expect to see—proof of the assertion that distinctive clan tartans were worn in the Highlands during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries would still be wanting. The writer of the *Vestiarium* informs us that in his day there had 'bene sene dyuers oncothe chaunges in the auld Scotysche fashioune' of costume, and that 'ye ain native guise' was falling into disuse. If his work comes to be regarded as authentic, we must then believe that, with the lapse of time, distinctive clan tartans were abandoned; for the evidence against their use, from the end of the sixteenth to the latter part of the eighteenth century, afforded by the costumes appearing in Scottish portraits painted during that period, may be regarded as practically conclusive.

J. M. GRAY.

ART. IV.—SPIELMANN ROMANCES—SALMAN AND MOROLF.

Die Deutschen Dichtungen von Salomon und Morolf, herausgegeben von Friedrich Vogt. Erster band, Salman und Morolf. Halle. 1880.

THE Spielmann poems, two of which were presented to our readers in former numbers of this Review,* deal in the main with the same theme. They all tell of a Christian king who sailed across the sea to fetch or to recover a wife. He has to fight for her with heathen foes, and these voyages and battles belong to the age of the Crusades. The scene is in the East, in a land of which the poet has the vaguest ideas in point of geography, and where marvels of all kinds abound. The romance of Salman and Morolf, of which we now propose to give a sketch, also presents these features, which we have seen in Orendel and in Rother. Salman is Solomon, transformed into a Christian emperor who rules at Jerusalem—here a seaport—and who conducts maritime expeditions against heathen potentates whose capitals are also on the sea. Morolf, we may at once say, is his brother; a brother of whom the Old Testament contains no mention, but who was born to him in the growth of early legend. It must be our first task to indicate how the legend, here treated by a popular poet for production in the market-place, about the end of the twelfth century, grew up and arrived in Germany. The reader will find that this poem is in some parts very loose in its construction, and it appears to us to be inferior both in the depth of its sentiment and in the vigour of its movement to the works formerly dealt with here. The legend however has a history of peculiar interest; few stories have undergone such curious transformations in so many lands. In his admirable edition of the poem, Mr. Vogt has examined its growth with much care; and while many of his statements are hypothetical, his collection of the facts is an admirable one.

* *Scottish Review*, No. xxxix., 'The Legend of Orendel; *Ibid.*, No. xliii., 'The Romance of King Rother.'

The Jewish imagination was very busy with Solomon; as the builder of the temple, most sacred and most wonderful of buildings, he was a figure of the greatest interest. His wisdom was famous; the Rabbis made him a master of hidden knowledge who had intercourse with spirits, especially with Asmodeus, the chief of the demons, and was able to avail himself of their power.* But this intercourse was dangerous; Solomon was not a truly good man like his father David, who gave himself to the study of the law with the zeal of a later scribe. The demon therefore, with whom he had too much intercourse, took advantage of him, cast him down from his throne, and for a time reigned in his stead. Solomon was reduced to wandering about from one school of the law to another, bearing another name, and uttering the sad words (Eccles. i. 12), 'I, Koheleth, was King of Israel in Jerusalem,' no one believing him.† Thus the adversary of Solomon and the fall of Solomon were standing themes of legend. Before his fall he had power over all the realms of nature; the animals of the earth and air as well as the spirits, came at his summons to do his bidding; he sent a letter to the Queen of Sheba by a bird, scholars are not certain whether the hoopoe or the woodcock. In Arab legend his power over the creatures is specially connected with his ring, a ring with four stones representing the four realms of nature. It is when he parts with his ring to Asmodeus that his power departs from him. Another feature of the story is that his fall is connected with his marriage of heathen princesses and with his permitting them to set up at Jerusalem the worship of their own gods. These gods were demons, and when they were worshipped in his capital, Solomon himself joining in that worship, he could not keep them so well in subjection as formerly. Worst of all was his marriage with the daughter of the King of Egypt. A heathen princess was naturally allied with the demons and their rulers, and so it came to pass that Solomon's wife had an understanding with the

* In Eisenmenger's *Entdeckter Judenthum* there is a great deal of this.

† The mediæval tale of which Longfellow gives a beautiful version in his 'King Robert of Sicily,' is no doubt founded on this of the Talmud.

prince of the demons, who was aiming at Solomon's overthrow ; his marriage therefore led directly to his downfall.

In passing through Greek lands the legend received various modifications. Solomon continues to wear the character of a great magician ; the apocryphal works attributed to him in Christian times deal chiefly with his rule over the demons, and the means he used and recommended to others for keeping such beings in subjection and making use of them. The demons themselves are conceived in accordance with Greek rather than Oriental ideas ; and in particular, Solomon is believed to have command of an army of animals with the body of a horse and the head of a man, centaurs, who come to his aid on any emergency.

The story is next found in Russian folk-lore and in the Spielmann. Mr. Vogt has had access to Russian collections which are not, so far as I know, accessible to the English reader, and finds that the story of Solomon exists among the Russian peasantry, in a simpler form than that of the Spielmann, but at the same time not the form in which the latter can have found it. Both the later forms of the story point to an intermediate form, probably Byzantine, which is now lost, but admits of being constructed by comparing together the two later tales. In the Byzantine story the old legend of Solomon had received important additions. A brother of Solomon had made his appearance, and had taken the place of Solomon's adversary, Asmodeus. And in place of the league of Solomon's wife with his adversary, there was an abduction of the queen by the brother. Where the brother came from it is hard to say. In the first book of Kings Solomon's brother, Adonijah, claims the throne in opposition to him ; and after his claim has been disposed of, he becomes a suitor for the hand of Abishag, the Shunamite, David's last nurse ; a claim which is thought so dangerous that he is put to death on account of it. Mr. Vogt thinks it possible that this may be the basis on which the later legend provides Solomon with a brother who is also his adversary and carries off his wife. The brother-adversary inherits the qualities of the demon-adversary whom he displaces from the legend ; he is a centaur, and a magician. The other features of the supposed Byzantine tale are that Solomon proceeds at the head

of an army of centaurs to recover his wife, but leaves his army in a wood, bidding them appear at once on hearing the sound of his horn. He then proceeds, disguised as a beggar, to the palace to which the queen has been carried, and is at once recognised by her and placed in confinement. The centaur, on his return home, allows Solomon to choose the manner of his death, and he chooses to be hung on a gallows near the wood. A large crowd goes with him; he asks to be allowed to sound his horn before he dies, and this is granted to him, though much against the will of the queen. As soon as his horn is heard the army appears out of the wood, the crowd who came to see the proceedings is massacred, the abductor and the abducted hanged on the gallows prepared for Solomon.

In an old Russ story the abductor is Kitovras, a word the etymologist will identify without difficulty with Centaurus; and he is moreover a brother of Solomon, and reigns over men by day, but at night over beasts, being himself turned into a beast. He has carried off Solomon's wife by means of magic. Solomon appears as a beggar, seeking to get back his wife, and is received by a young lady, through whom he sends a signal to the Queen. The Queen, however, knows at once that the stranger is no beggar, but 'my old husband, Solomon.' She asks and he answers, what might be expected, and Kitovras when he comes in, orders Solomon to be hung. There is to be a great feast under the gallows, and after arriving there Solomon asks permission to blow his horn. He is allowed to do so; at the first blast his men arm, at the second, when his feet are on the ladder, they approach and hide themselves in an ambush. At the third blast they burst out and cut down the crowd of enemies. Kitovras, the wife of Solomon, and the magician by whom the abduction was carried out, are hanged, with silk ropes, for Solomon had asked for this indulgence, when he himself was about to be the victim.

In a Russ folk-song, the story appears with certain variations which show later development. Solomon's Queen, here named Salmanija, is carried off by the servant of a handsome Emperor, called Vasilj Okuljevič, who had heard of her beauty. She is enticed on board a ship which has arrived at Jerusalem loaded

with all manner of curious and precious wares, and drugged with opium till the ship has sailed. Solomon goes to bring her back with a great army of winged man-horses, who are told, rather contrary to their natural habits, one would suppose, the first time they hear his horn to saddle their horses, the second time to mount, and the third time to hasten to his aid. These centaurs evidently are developing into ordinary cavalry. In the account of Solomon's arrest and imprisonment by the Queen different versions of the song vary. When he blows his horn the first time with his foot on the ladder, all the birds of the air come flying, and he explains that they all wish to be present at his execution. The horn also conveys to his men the tidings—'Solomon is about to be put to death,'—and the earth shakes at the multitude of men simultaneously saddling their horses. 'What is the meaning of that?' Solomon is asked. 'Forty thousand swans,' he answers, 'are splashing the sea against the shore, telling each other that I am to be put to death.' On the second step of the ladder he blows another blast. All the trees of the wood shiver and the sea roars. The blast contains the words—'O Emperor Vasilj Okuljevič, hasten the execution, for Solomon is wise and cunning.' His men mount, the earth shakes, and he explains this by saying that forty thousand horses have come together at Jerusalem to tell each other of his fate. The end of the story is as in the earlier forms of it.

In the Spielmann story the reader will see that much is the same as in these Russ stories of Solomon, but he will also notice many differences and additions. Solomon's brother has a new name, Morolf; another form of it is Markolf; and no complete account of the name can be given. The name occurs in Jewish literature as Marcolis, in Latin it is Marcolfus; Morcholon is also found; and the god Mercurius, to the Jews a demon, is probably not far off. Solomon's brother was his adversary, and any demon of influential position would do for the post. There is an Anglo-Saxon romance called Solomon and Saturn, in which Saturn is an oriental prince of demonic character, and Solomon carries on conversation with him as with Asmodeus, and addresses him as 'brother'! A 'Marcolf's land' is spoken of 'to the east of the Kingdom of Saul'; so that Marcolf has every qualification

for the post of Solomon's brother, who is also his adversary. In the poem now before us of '*Solomon und Morolf*,' Morolf has ceased to be an adversary, and has become the devoted servant and helper of Solomon, but in the other Spielmann poem of *Solomon und Markolf*,* Markolf is the adversary, the disputative antagonist and rude jester, with whom Solomon for all his wisdom carries on an unequal contest. In Germany therefore the legendary matter has divided into two different stories. '*Solomon und Markolf*' is a dialogue poem. Markolf, a personage representing all the wit and all the impudence of the Spielmann tribe, contends with Solomon in words, and plays him tricks. '*Salman und Morolf*' is an epic. Morolf has laid aside the character of antagonist, and is all a brother should be. At the same time, Morolf allows himself great liberty of speech with Salman; and his proceedings among the heathens, which occupy a great part of the poem, are to say the least, much below the dignity of the brother of an Emperor, and much more in the character of one who has spent his life in the practice of jugglery and in the invention of tricks and deceptions. He is a maker of magic, he foresees the future with accuracy, he is master of all the mechanical wonders known or dreamed of in the middle ages; in the second part of the poem he is claimed by a mermaid as her near relative. He inherits the qualities of the many characters who have stood in close connection with Solomon.

The reader will notice in the poem many inconsistencies, and many suggestions and beginnings of themes which are not worked out. The means employed for the first abduction of Salme, to begin at the beginning, are far in excess of what is required. First there is a warlike expedition, then Salme becomes enamoured of the captive committed to her guardianship. But this does not end in an elopement as we should expect, though the coast is clear for it; the removal of Salme is deferred for six months, and is carried out by a Spielmann sent for that purpose by the heathen king. Here different traditions have evidently been at work. First there was the theme of a woman carried off by force;

* Mr. Vogt's second volume, which is to deal with this other Solomon poem, has not yet appeared.

Salman himself had obtained his bride in this way. Then there is the tradition, common in the middle ages—(it is found, Mr. Vogt shews, in our own Walter Mapes, and in various quarters in Germany) of a wife to whom a distinguished captive is entrusted for safe custody, and who falls in love with him and runs off with him. And thirdly, there is the tradition found in Rother, of the abduction of a queen by the stratagem of a Spielmann, while the king himself does not appear. The fact that Morolf afterwards spends seven years going from one court to another in search of the lost queen, shews that the last of these three traditions at one time had a place in the opening of the story; why should he have done this if he was aware, as he is in this poem, from the first, that her abduction was due to the captive prince, whose name and kingdom are well known to every one? Other inconsistencies are to be found in Morolf's recognition of the queen, which does not take place fully till he plays chess with her. If that was the case, he cannot have had an intimate acquaintance with her before, but must have been an envoy sent out to recognize her by the mark on her hand. The sections, too, where the sister of the heathen king enters into the action, all point to another issue of it than that here reached. In an appendix to the other Solomon-poem, Solomon and Morolf, the story is told much more simply; there the queen is recognized when she is buying gloves from the Spielmann, by the mark on her hand. Mr. Vogt judges that that version of the story represents in many points, but not in all, the tradition out of which 'Salman und Morolf' was built up.

From the history of old German rhyme and metre, this poem is judged to be a little later than Orendel and Rother, and is placed in the last decade of the twelfth century. It is written in a stanza of five lines, of which the first and second rhyme together, and the third and fifth, while the fourth is, to use the German phrase, an 'orphan.' At the beginning of my sketch of the poem, I have given a rough representation of the form. It was known before that the poem was in some such stanza. Mr. Vogt has the merit of having given it in this edition its proper form by printing it in stanzas. His critical labours in restoring the text have been very thorough, as may be seen at the foot of

every page, and in the notes printed after the text in the end of the volume. He might have done more than he has to enable the reader who is not a specialist in old High German, to understand difficult passages and obscure allusions.

As this poem contains a great mixture of legends drawn from various quarters, so it presents a very curious combination of ideas and sentiments. It is not a work illustrative of chivalry. The battles in it are fought on foot, the heroes kill each other with swords, not with lances. Nor are the feelings towards women those of 'Ivanhoe.' With a great show of outward politeness and etiquette, the men combine a boorish rudeness of speech, even towards women, and a coarse tone of sentiment. The forms of the intercourse of courts are beginning to penetrate to the lower orders, but the spirit of courtesy is absent. Nor is the sentiment of this poem ecclesiastical. It differs markedly in this particular from Orendel and Rother. In these poems the heroes appeal at every important juncture to heaven for aid, and miracles are frequently wrought for them, or messengers are sent from above to assist them. The heroes of both these poems, moreover, retire from the world or embrace the religious life, when their labours are ended. Here there is none of this. We have not even the baptism of vanquished heathens; Fore's sister is baptized, but that is necessary for the plot, as she could not otherwise become queen. The frequent processions to and from church, we may also notice, are not introduced from pious, but rather from scenic motives; they form a fine opportunity for showing off a beautiful woman or for securing the presence of a crowd at an important interview. The sentiment which dominates this poem is a thoroughly secular one. The poem in fact is a glorification of the Spielmann. That functionary is exhibited on a high stage, promoted to royal dignity and influence, but without losing any of his readiness of tongue or sleight of hand. This is *par excellence* the Spielmann poem; not only that the subordinate members of the profession who appear are always finely attired and richly rewarded, and succeed in all they take in hand, but that the central figure, the hero of the piece, is a player, an entertainer of the public, made royal himself and the

right hand of a king, and exhibiting his arts on a scale worthy of his profession.

‘ At Jerusalem a child was born,
Which since the royal crown hath worn,
Over all Christian folk ;
That was the great King Salman,
Who many a wise word spoke.

He took a wife from India,
A heathen’s daughter fair was she,
For her was many a knight forlorn :
It was an evil hour,
That she to the world was ever born.’

Her father’s name was Cyprian, and Salman took her from him without his leave ; he carried her across the wild sea, and kept her perforce in his good castle at Jerusalem.

‘ What I tell you that is true ; he baptized her and taught her the Psalter a whole year, he taught her to play chess : dear to him was the queen, for all the harm she did him. Her throat was white as snow ; never was there a fairer woman, her mouth burned like a ruby ; her eyes sparkled as became her noble birth. Like yellow silk was her hair ; beautiful was she and made for love ; well-formed was her body, she was called Salme.’

Then comes a description of her dress which we will not inflict on the reader, further than that her under garments were of silk, and that her splendid robe and her crown shone with jewels. The occasions on which this lady is seen and described are generally connected with her going to church ; the following is the most elaborate of them all :—

‘ It fell on a day of Pentecost that the queen proceeded to the church. Beside her walked two rich princes, who escorted the illustrious queen. Before the noble lady many a spielmann walked that day. On her right hand went many a proud knight in knightly attire, as befitted the service of the queen. On her left hand went many a fair maid, and after her many an attendant in knightly dress. Four square they went, right fair to see. When she entered the cathedral high mass began ; they gave her a psalter in her hand, all written with letters of gold. When the Gospel was read hear what a gift the lady gave ; a ring of red gold with precious stones, no better could there be.’

The sight of her turns the heads of all the knights, they forgot their food and drink for admiration of her beauty. Salman

enjoyed the greatest happiness with her till the fourth year of their marriage, when a sad change took place. We enter here on the story of the

FIRST ABDUCTION OF SALME.

On the other side of the sea there ruled a proud heathen, his father's name was Memerolt, his own was Fore. Six and thirty dukes and fifty earls served at his court, and sixteen heathen kings were subject to him. It was on a Sunday (for the heathens in this poem have religious arrangements just like those of the Christians) that he consulted his knights as to a lady suited in all respects to be his wife and to rule with him over the rich land of Wendelsee. None of them is able to advise him on this point, till an old grey-haired knight mentions the Christian queen, wife of Salman, at Jerusalem; and on hearing her name Fore at once resolves to take her from Salman by force, and asks his knights for assistance in the expedition. Salme's father Cyprian, who is ill-pleased to think that his daughter is married to a Christian, promises to send four thousand knights. The King of Tuscany, who has similar religious principles, and King Princian, of whom more is to be heard, also gave large reinforcements. A herald is sent to Jerusalem to demand Salme for Fore, and to declare war in case of a refusal. In spite of these, however, the refusal is promptly given, and Fore sets sail immediately with a fleet of forty ships, and reaches Jerusalem on the tenth day. The ships at once enter the harbour of that seaport, and after a due amount of boasting and defiance on each side the knights put on their steel accoutrements and Fore encamps with his army on the plain before the fortress. Before attacking, Fore sends his standard-bearer Elian to Salman's court to ask him to save bloodshed by giving up his wife peaceably. Elian is received by Salman, his wife Salme, and Morolf, his dear brother, sitting together in the palace. The interview is very ceremonious, but Salman of course refuses utterly to do what is asked of him. Before the messenger departs Morolf asks him what force Fore has brought with him, and on hearing the number bids him say that Salman's side will be ready to fight in fourteen days. Messengers are sent throughout the land to

summon assistance for the Christian King. The King of Mar-
rach (Morocco) comes riding with an army, so does the King of
Sarpe (Sarepta), and the citizens of Nopels (Naples or Nablous?)
and of Marseilles. Altogether Salman has thirty-five thousand
warriors; and Morolf declares that though they are outnumbered
by five thousand, they have the advantage of being Christians,
and that 'the rich Christ from heaven will not desert them.'
The battle which follows lasts five days, it is a hand-to-hand en-
counter, apparently on foot, as no horses are mentioned, and it is
said that those who escaped from the fight barely escaped being
drowned in the sea. The result was that five and thirty thou-
sand of the 'evil heathens were killed, and that King Fore him-
self was taken prisoner.'

There is a consultation as to how the prisoner is to be treated.
Morolf strongly urges that he should be put to death at once, as
he had aimed at carrying off the Queen; but Salman will not
agree to this, and declares that Fore is to be kept a close prisoner,
and that Salme is to be his goaler. This is one of the most un-
natural parts of the story, and can only be accounted for by the
necessities of the poet patching together various materials. Salme
has to be carried off, and the armed expedition having failed, the
common legend of a captive knight, with whom the lady of the
castle falls in love, is next resorted to. As we shall see, this
contrivance also fails of its purpose, and the writer has to take
up another. Morolf uses the plainest language; 'he who adds
straw to fire,' he says, 'will surely make a blaze; so will it
happen if you leave King Fore with your wife;' and to Salman's
assurance that he has no such fears, 'the cunning man' answers
that his wife has bewitched him. All is in vain, Fore is entrusted
to Salme to guard, and at once gains her affections. To the
plain and natural statement of this event, another is added which
explains it by magic. A nephew of Fore, a heathen and a great
magician, lends him a ring in which a stone is set with magical
art, and this he gives to Salme, asking her to wear it. She at
once became enamoured of the ring, such was its power, but
before putting it on she carried it to Morolf and begged him to
examine it and see if there was any mischief about it. Morolf
held it up to the sun, but the gold was so red that he could not

detect the charm lodged in the stone. Salme therefore put it on, and at once experienced its operation, choosing from thenceforth to be always in Fore's company. He pleads with her to let him escape; but she fears the wisdom of Salman, and still more that of Morolf, his servant. To Fore's assertion that he has already beaten them in cunning, she rejoins that that is vain talk:—

‘There never was any kind of man who equalled the tenth part of Morolf in wiles. He will see in my colour at once that I have changed my mind, and both our lives will be in danger. He spoke: “There serve me at my court six and thirty dukes and fifty earls, ’tis true, and sixteen heathen kings; they shall be subject to you. Your father Cyprian serves me; him I will free for ever from such service.” “Then I will follow you,” spoke the noble queen. At that word the king was glad; then spake the evil heathen, “Lady, I will give you more, you shall have power over the rich land at Wendelsee. Half a year from to-day, I send you lady, that is true, a heathen Spielmann; he carries two turtledoves, and you shall receive him well. He carries a German harp in his hand—you will know it—it shines with precious stones; and he will have a magic root on him, so that no one will observe him. That root you shall place secretly in your mouth, then you will fall sick and lie on the grass as if you were dead, but your bright colour will be unchanged.” Then spake the noble queen, “I grieve, alas, that so rich a prince must go away from here on foot.” Then spake the heathen man: “Glad am I to go on foot, for here I lie in danger of my life; now let me go, noble queen, I am fond of walking.” Then loosed she the heathen's bonds: “Now clear the country soon, my lord, and send a messenger at the set time, for most unwillingly am I King Salman's wife.” When the heathen escaped, and it was told at court, then spoke the cunning man: “The queen has been most unfaithful, she has let him go.” Then spake King Salman: “Morolf, what did she do to you? You are most prejudiced against her; some girl let him out, and Salme was not to blame at all.” Morolf, however, exhorts the king to look well after her, and predicts that he will not keep her longer than half a year.’

His word proves true, for half a year later a Spielmann comes, who is described in the same words as King Fore had used. He meets Salme as she is going to church, and gives her the magic root; her devotions are not improved thereby, and as soon as the benediction is said she places it in her mouth, and sinks on the grass for dead, but without changing colour. Morolf at once declares that her death is the result of magic, and asks to be allowed to see her; he has medical skill, he says, and probably could restore her to life. The King has been tearing his hair, which

Morolf considers to be a premature proceeding, and wishes to keep Morolf from seeing the Queen, but he is not to be deterred; 'if she gets off from here, he says, I shall have to go after her to other lands.' He made his way, therefore, to the Queen, and poured hot gold through her hand, but the charm was so strong that she felt nothing of it. This leads to a serious difference between the king and Morolf; the latter giving reasons for not believing in the queen's death, Salman ordering him to leave the court, and receiving for answer a jest of extreme rudeness. The King causes the Queen's body to be placed in a coffin of red gold, 'just as if she were an angel'; but Morolf considers that a much less expensive plan would have served as well or better, and that the gold be not lost he goes privately and lays on the coffin a huge stone. This, however, did not prevent the Spielmann from accomplishing his purpose; how he did it we are not told; no more is said of the stone, but on the third day he carried off the noble lady across the wild sea; 'before Morolf brought her home again, he had, God knows, plenty of pain and trouble.' On the fifth day Salman found out what had happened; he feels it impossible to tell Morolf, and sends a girl to the vault with incense, and so gets the news brought. Morolf, on being told, answers with bitter gibes. 'She has preferred a heathen to her Christian lord.' He says:—

" 'Were I as wise as thou, Salman, and thereto as handsome as Absolom, and could I sing as well as Horace, yet if I could not keep my wife in order, it would be little credit to me.' Then spake King Salman, 'Now leave we off such words; seek out for me the noble queen, and I will share with you the good land of Jerusalem. Morolf, dear brother mine, thou must be my envoy for the noble queen who has run away from us; the rich Christ reward you for it.' Then spake Morolf, the cunning man, 'Rich King Solomon, since thou callest me brother, what thou biddest shall be done.' "

MOROLF'S FIRST SEARCH FOR SALME.

We now enter on the narrative of Morolf's search for the Queen, in which he has abundant opportunity to show his mastery of cunning expedients, and appears on many occasions far from scrupulous. The adventure little deserved success which was inaugurated by the following act of treachery:—

'He went to Jerusalem into the town, and asked an old Jew for advice; white was he as snow with age, his grey beard fell below his girdle. His name was Berman. Then spake the noble knight, "Advise me, Berman; the King would send me for his beauteous wife." In a little he took him by the hand and led him into a chamber to advise him there more privately. Morolf drew out a long knife and stabbed the Jew to the heart.'

He then took off his skin from the girdle upwards, dressed it and put on this strange disguise, and with it all the manners and gestures of the dead man, as if they were native to him. At once he entered Salman's presence, and appealed to his bounty as a beggar. The King gave him three marks of gold, and also at his special request the gold ring from his finger. Highly delighted that he had not been recognised, Morolf withdrew, changed his guise, and came back to ask the King what he had done with his ring. The King also, of course, when he finds how he has been outwitted, is rejoiced at Morolf's cleverness, and thinks that worthy cannot fail to succeed in any enterprise he takes in hand. Morolf then makes his preparations for a long journey; a staff and wallet are the first things to be thought of; but he also orders a collapsible leather boat; it is well pitched, and has two windows, and he carried it like a parcel at his side. Many a time did he save his life by it. To the King he commends his daughter Male, who is to be his sole heir should he not return, and then he sets out across the sea to seek the Queen. Seven years did he wander from one castle to another, and at last he came to Wendelsee, and thrust his boat through the reeds upon the beach. He at once encounters an old heathen who has been porter at the castle, and who, under dire threats, tells him all about the Queen there, the fairest woman he ever saw: after hearing his news, Morolf kills him and throws the body into a ditch. He then makes up as a pilgrim with a coarse garment, palm and staff, and goes up to the castle, where he finds King Fore and his knights practising archery, putting the stone, and carrying on other sports, before the gates. He seats himself on a bench under a tree, which was reserved for persons belonging to the aristocracy. He is ordered to get up, and a chamberlain comes and strikes him with a stick, but King Fore says, laughing, that the stranger evidently belongs to the nobility, and need not be interfered with.

The King and Queen now set off at the head of a procession to attend service in church ; Morolf sees the Queen and admires her beauty, but apparently is not certain that she is Salme. During the service Morolf remains on the seat and curses the heathen parson for making the mass so long ; 'damned Saracen,' he says, 'what is that you are singing?' 'The devil take you!' The service being over, he takes up a position where the royal procession will pass close to him on its return to the castle, and the Queen, seeing the aged pilgrim, addresses him kindly. At his request for alms, she offers to maintain him at her Court as long as they both live, but he answers : 'I am a sinful man and cannot stay long in one place ; I will rest here a fortnight, I pray you let them feed me so long.' She asks him if he was ever at Jerusalem on his travels, and if he ever saw King Salman and his brother Morolf. He replies that it is seven years since he was there and that at that time Salman and Morolf were both in great distress at the death of the Queen ; they had placed her under a stone, but the wicked devil had come and taken her with him, a recital at which the Queen is greatly amused. She then entrusts him to a chamberlain, who is to see that the wine-jug stands near his bed at night.

Now Morolf wore under his pilgrim's robe a corset of steel, and a noble lady at the court happened to see it. She of course reported this to the Queen, and the Queen sent her to fetch the pilgrim at once to her majesty's apartments, as if she wished to ask him for more news of foreign lands. The pilgrim is slow to obey this summons, for he grasps what it means, and excuses himself on the plea of fatigue till next day. Next morning he goes to her. The King has gone out hunting, so that the field is clear for an encounter between the false pilgrim and the Queen he is seeking to deceive. He makes the first move and challenges her to play chess with him, his head against her gold to be the stake. She believes she can beat him, and sends for the chess-board, a highly jewelled piece of furniture with white and red pieces. A new stake is proposed ; the Queen is to give, instead of gold, any maiden of her retinue whom he shall choose ; if he gets her, she will carry his wallet. He chooses King Fore's sister, and she at once begins to take an interest in him and

comes beside him to help him in the game. At first he presses the Queen hard, but she declares there is nothing in the game; his head is forfeited in any case, and she will have it taken off without delay. He betrays anxiety in an unseemly way, and on being taken to task, entreats the Queen to change places with him. This brings the sun to shine on the back of her hand and light fell through hand and glove (which cannot have been of kid) on the board, so that he recognised the hand which he had pierced with red-hot gold. Then, we are told, he was quite sure that she was Salme and no other. A new trick is here put in operation. He had brought with him across the sea, a gold ring in which a nightingale was enclosed; this he now puts on; the nightingale begins to sing, and while the Queen is gazing at it he abstracts one of her knights and two pawns. At this his heart is lifted up, he claims that he has won the game, and saved his head; and he breaks out into song of which he had a great gift, so that all who heard him were charmed. The air was one King David had taken from the old songs, and she remembers hearing it at her father's table and asks him where he learned it. He spoke:

'Noble queen, I was a Spielmann and was called Stolzelin; I wandered long on the sea and over mountains and valleys, no land was unknown to me, were it *broad* or small. I came to Gilest to the capital, where the sun is at home; there lies a land called Endian, and there I learned that sweet and touching air. Never again did I hear it, save at the good town of Jerusalem, before King Salman it was sung by Morolf, a duke, a handsome and charming man was he.' Then spoke the noble lady: "Now hold thy peace, tell me no more; thou art Morolf, Salman's man, and when King Fore comes thy life shall answer for it."

He appeals to his long beard and grey hair to prove he is not Morolf, who was a young man seven years ago, but she is not to be shaken; reproaches him with having burned her hand, and declares he shall never see Jerusalem again. At hearing this he takes off the Jew's skin and casts it from him, disclosing a head of curly yellow hair, and after reproaching her with her faithlessness, entreats her to call a truce with him till the next day, a request which by earnest beseeching he prevails on her to allow. He further gets her to permit him to walk by the seashore, and as she goes with him with a sufficient retinue of heathens, he ventures to propose that she should go back to Jerusalem with

him. That she will never do. Will she let him go to the shore alone, to confess his sins to the reeds before he dies, since he can have no other priest? That also she refuses to allow; he is taken back to the castle, and handed over to twelve knights, who are to guard him, on peril of their own lives.

Morolf in custody proves very good company to his guards, and tells them stories till they all begin to feel sleepy. He is seized with a fit of coughing, and coughs the light out, a pure accident, he says; if they will get another light, he will amuse them better than before. The light comes, and he offers them all a drink, which he has doctored in the darkness, and each one who drinks of it, sinks down on the floor. The last man seeing all the guards but himself lying about grows anxious and talks instead of drinking, but he is to get the gold cup to keep if he empties it, and so he too lies straightway beside the rest. Morolf then shews his humour; he sets to work with a pair of scissors and a razor and cuts the hair of his guards short, and supplies each of them with a tonsure. He then forces his way out of the town, killing the porter and his wife at the gate, and at once gets into his boat and is at sea. He lies off the town, however, till morning, and the Queen after hearing of the state in which the guards have been found, goes up to a tower, looks at the water and sees him there, and offers a large reward to any one who will bring him back. A galley with five hundred men at once pursues him, he thrusts his boat ashore and lands, but not without having replenished his flask from his sea-going stores. As the shore is devoid of bushes where he lands, he is soon taken, bound, and placed in confinement, with twelve keepers, who are to carry him back to the Queen. The story repeats itself; we have again the story-telling, the drinking, the hair-cutting, the escape, only this time with the variation that the cunning man puts on the clothes of a chamberlain whom he has killed, and who is of the same height and complexion with himself, and apparently for the mere fun of the thing, goes to the Queen in his assumed character to announce his own capture. See him then installed as a high official in the royal household, receiving the benediction of twelve heathen chaplains before retiring to rest, and lodged close to the royal sleeping apartment. A scene of wild frolic ensues,

in which the twelve chaplains, duly drugged and set against a wall, the King himself, and various others are treated in a way sadly humiliating to them, but hugely diverting to the Christian poet and his audience. When they awake and begin to look at each other, and to disentangle themselves from the confusion, Morolf is singing with a loud voice from his leather vessel on the sea before the castle, and asking for messages for Jerusalem, as he is just going off. His departure, however, is once more prevented; four and twenty galleys quickly surround his boat. Now a remarkable property of that craft is seen; Morolf can at will sink to the bottom of the sea, and a leather pipe supplies him with air; there was also a string connected with the upper end of the pipe, apparently to draw it down under water when threatened by an enemy. For fourteen days these appliances enabled him on this occasion to consort with the fishes. When he came to the surface again it appears that he would have liked to visit Wendelsee once more, to play a new set of pranks there; but his enemies watched the sea too closely, and after a thirty-six days' voyage, even in these days an unusually long one, the winds drove him into the harbour at Jerusalem. Thus ended an expedition as ably planned and carried out as any in Jules Verne, and the geographical details of which it is equally impossible to verify.

A scene of recognition then takes place. Morolf's hair has turned half gray, and he is so changed that no one at Jerusalem knows him; he introduces himself to Salman therefore as a mariner who knows all the countries 'from the Elbe to the Ter-mont,' and having just come from there has much that is interesting to communicate; and Salman, taking him up to a marble tower, bids him say his say, remarking that he reminds him of his faithful Morolf, whom he sent off seven years ago to seek his wife, and who doubtless has perished ere now among the heathens. The ancient mariner declares that he knew Morolf intimately, and in fact that he buried him; and Salman requests to be told where this took place:—

“So dear to me are his bones, I give you my word for it I will not leave them in heathendom. I will bury him here in Jerusalem, or lose my life in the attempt, else what would my crown and kingdom profit me? I must

always mourn the loss of Morolf my faithful servant ; besides he was my brother, and it was for the love of me that he went, to bring back my fair wife. Much grieves me the loss of my dear brother." When Morolf saw the mourning was sincere, then spake he, "I am Morolf, know dear king that I am he, and with all loyalty I am faithful to thee. I have found thy fair wife ; if thou wilt bring her back, many a knight must lose his life for it."

They then embrace with tears and laughter, but Morolf cannot give up his tricks ; he makes up as he appeared before Salme, knight next the skin but pilgrim to the eye, and goes begging to Salman ; is struck by a chamberlain, returns the blow with interest, and is then recognized by the King and made known to the court.

FIRST EXPEDITION FOR THE RECOVERY OF SALME.

The Queen is to be brought back, and to man the expedition for that purpose, a great tournay is instituted, and of the knights who came to it, ten thousand were chosen and retained. To make sure of their faithfulness, Morolf advises that the treasure-chambers should be opened and a liberal distribution made to the warriors ; and it is done accordingly. 'Thy silver and thy gold so red,' Morolf says, 'point many a one the way to grim death.' After the voyage, of which nothing is told, the expedition halts on the shore at Wendelsee to take counsel. Salman is told by his brother that there is nothing for it but that he, the King himself, in spite of all dangers, should enter the castle and see his wife. He is attired in pilgrim garb, but with steel corslet under it, and a broad hat which is also inwrought with steel. A staff is given him in which there is a sword, and a horn hidden in his coarse cloak. Should he be detected, and Morolf knows that this can scarcely fail to happen, he will be allowed to pronounce his own sentence, and he is to elect to be hanged on one of the trees at the edge of the dark fir wood behind which his knights are concealed. On his blowing his horn they will come to his aid. Salman now advances to the town, his mind filled with many thoughts. He is met by King Fore's sister, that young lady, who is constantly appearing as if to play the part of heroine, but none of whose actions ever come to anything. She is pleased with his reverend air, as Salme was with Morolf's, makes him the same

offer as Salme did on that occasion, and is refused on the same grounds as Morolf alleged. She reports to the Queen the coming of the handsome pilgrim; he has all the marks of high birth, 'his eyes shine like those of a wild boar, nor are they gray in colour, and his eyebrows are smooth.' He can be no other, she thinks, than the King of Jerusalem. The Queen denounces Morolf for sending him, and swears he never shall return. The other wishes to go at once and warn him to be off, but Salme wishes to see him, and sends four chaplains to bring him to her presence. As soon as she beheld him, thus she spoke:—

"Welcome, Salman, husband mine; grieved am I that Morolf got away; had they caught him be sure he would have been hanged on a gallows." "Unfaithful woman, he was taking charge of my honour when he came here; thou must be my wife again, or Morolf will have thy life." "Thy love I seek not; King Fore is three times dearer to me than thou, I will remain with him, and I doubt not he will help me by judging whether thou art to live longer."

He asks her to let him go, and reminds her of all she enjoyed at Jerusalem, but his requests are vain. He is taken and placed behind the hangings in the room where Fore and Salme are about to dine, so that he witnesses her loving reception of the heathen, and hears her tell the story of the pilgrim and betray her lawful husband to his heathen enemy. 'If it is Salman,' Fore says, 'he shall be sent across the sea to Jerusalem unharmed, if he gives a fair answer.' Salme is strong against this, and to hasten matters points to where Salman stands behind the arras. Before the two potentates confront each other, however, there is an interlude between Salman and Fore's sister, she bringing him a strengthening drink, and urging him to give her brother a fair answer, he saying that if he had her at Jerusalem he would have her baptized, and refusing to promise about the answer, even though his life depends on it. Accordingly, when brought before Fore, he at once assails that heathen with reproaches for his treacherous conduct in carrying off Salme. Fore has a fairly good defence in his three years' imprisonment at Jerusalem, and in the fact that Salme herself let him out, 'through her thou art now to lose thy life. I am heartily vexed at it; alas! King Salman, why camest thou over the sea so broad?' Further

arguments are vain. 'If,' Fore says, 'you had me at Jerusalem as I have you here, would you let me go off whole?' Salman cannot say he would; he would keep Fore till morning broke, and then order his men to set up a gallows to hang him on; and on saying this, he is told he has pronounced his own sentence; he may go free within the castle till morning, but the gallows is ordered, and Salme expresses her joy and satisfaction in looking forward to a long life by her heathen's side.

Fetters are brought for the condemned man, but they are never put on. Fore's sister intervenes at this point with a request that Salman should be given to her to guard for this one night. She makes her own life pledge for him, and Fore consents with some reluctance to the arrangement, though he also says that but for Salme he would very willingly send Salman away unhurt. The princess then takes possession of her captive, and leads him to a splendid apartment. 'She brought him a Spielmann; a German harp he took in his hand; a mantle of many colours she gave him; "now serve the rich emperor well, for this night and no more. I myself will stay with you;" and she sat down on a couch beside him, she comforted him with all her might, and made him forget his cares. Refreshments were brought, and Salman grew quite happy beside his fair companion. The Spielmann played, and Salman was led to think of "King David, his father, who before old Troy invented the first stringed instrument." Salman himself plays, and the young person beside him is delighted with his performance. She then whispers in his ear that if he chooses she will let him escape; her brother she is sure will not do her any harm if she does so. He, however, does not wish to escape in this way; he has angels in the wood he says, who will not allow him to perish.

With the morning light a crowd appears before the palace calling for judgment to be done on Salman, since he had come into a land where he was not wanted. The trial was soon over, and Salman condemned to be hanged before the dark fir-wood. A large company goes out to witness the execution. Fore's sister rides beside Salman, and wipes the sweat from his face with her coloured mantle; he is a noble Knight, indeed, she says, for his colour is unchanged and still like roses. Morolf has ridden out to

watch what is going on, and on seeing the procession from a distance, rides back to his men to warn them that the time for action is at hand, and encourage them to bravery. One detachment, under the command of a Knight Templar, is to cut off the heathen's retreat to the city; Duke Friderich is to lead a company in front of the fir wood. Morolf himself is not in haste to attack, but wishes to wait and see what devilry the heathens are carrying on.

The King is talking with Salme under the gallows, and makes the request that he may be allowed to blow three times on his little horn. The angels will hear it, and then they will take care of his soul. No prince is ever put to death without being allowed three blasts on his horn. The Queen, however, sees in this one of Morolf's tricks; if the horn is blown they are all lost, as Salman no doubt has friends behind the wood. Fore, however, says Salman may blow his horn a dozen times if he likes; if any ill follows, he will be the first to lose his life. Salman blows a stout blast on his horn, and his friends hear it, he takes his trusty staff in his hand, and says when challenged that it must certainly be hanged with him. Morolf's bands now come in sight, one black, one grey, one white. Fore's sister enquires about them, and is told that the white ones are the angels, under Michael, who have come to receive his soul, while the black ones are the devils who are also to fight for its possession. She, however, is sure he has brought them all with him from Jerusalem, and fears he is about to desert her; but he bids her take herself away from the fighting which will soon begin, and stay in the town till he sends for her. He blows a second blast on his horn, and more men appear before the wood. Salme is in terror that Morolf is just coming to kill her, but Fore reassures her. Salman draws the sword which is contained in his staff, and many men rush on him and press him hard. He kills four hundred and fifty of them, but when Fore, with eleven others, made a rush on him, he is on the point of being overwhelmed, and he would have been killed had not Morolf opportunely come up and rescued him. Fore after a short combat, is made prisoner, and Morolf threatens to hang him and Salme together. The latter appeals to Salman, promises never to do it again, and engages to go back with him

to Jerusalem if her life is spared. Morolf drags her away with Fore to the gallows, she exclaiming that Fore deserves to be hung, not she, and appealing to Salman by the happy life they may yet have together at Jerusalem. Fore is indignant at this treachery; Salman begs Morolf to let her off this time, she will never do it again; and he, though reluctantly, consents, and hangs Fore alone. He goes to the town in search of Fore's sister, who weeps bitterly at hearing of her brother's death, and to induce Morolf to bury him honourably takes him to a tower full of gold and precious stones, to which she bids him help himself and his men, so that they may be always faithful to him. After a great tournay they all set sail.

When twelve days out the expedition came to a castle, name not given, to which they laid siege, and the news of this reached King Isolt of Tuscany, who at once collected a force and marched against them. His device was a panther and two dragons, and he was leader of 30,000 men; his father, Berzian, had fallen before Jerusalem, and Fore was his uncle, so that he had reasons. But he loses his life in single combat with Salman, apparently on foot, and Morolf and Duke Friderich having also performed great feats, each slaying his hundreds, the heathens are forced to flee, and the voyage is continued to Jerusalem. 'But how slowly did the Queen reconcile herself to being separated from the heathen and brought back to Jerusalem! When the noble lady thought of the heathen man, she could have no joy, till another heathen with great sorcery obtained her. Hence every good man should see to it that his wife keeps watch over herself, no guard ever was so great as that which a good woman thus maintains. Salman was not so wise; his wife deceived him a second time. But now leave we this matter, and speak of the baptism of King Fore's sister. To her went the cunning man and spoke, 'Noble Queen you must get yourself baptized, then your soul will be brought back to health.' She puts him off with excuses, and at length refuses to be baptized. Morolf then represents to her that if the Queen dies, she will have great influence in Jerusalem; he will get her married to Salman. At this she overcomes her scruples, and we have an account of her baptism in the cathedral, where she was held up by a lady, who found her no light burden, and

King Salman, who wished to witness the proceedings, was unceremoniously ejected. She received the name of Affer, and after the baptism she was taken to the Holy Sepulchre, where she made an offering; she learned the Psalter full seven years.

At this juncture Morolf warns Salman that if the Queen runs off again, some one else must be found to go after her and bring her back. Of this, however, there is no sign. A son is born to the royal couple, and the Queen seems well content to stay where she is. This goes on for seven years, and at the expiry of that period the reader will find, if he looks up the figures, that Salme can no longer have been in the first blush of her youth. Readers of the *Iliad* have noticed the same thing with regard to Helen when she was the cause of all the fighting of Troy, and we should not be too much surprised to find that at this point Salme's history begins again. In

SALME'S SECOND ABDUCTION

We have a story which is, in its main features, a repetition of that which we have already sketched. The fair queen is carried off by King Princian of Acre, who had heard of her beauty and at once resolved to possess her. Morolf is unwilling at first to undertake a second voyage to discover her, but is persuaded to do so on condition that if she is brought back, he shall be permitted to put her to death. On this second journey the cunning man performs a whole set of new tricks of an astonishing nature; this fresh matter fills up the greater part of this part of the poem. Tying up his feet behind him and taking a drug which gives him a death-like appearance, he appears at Acre as a cripple asking alms to procure medical assistance. Leaving behind him his ass which he has brought with him across the sea (Acre is about as many days sail from Jerusalem as Wendelsee), he creeps to the gate, and learns from the porter that Salme is shut up in a rock-fortress, which communicates with Princian's apartments by a subterranean passage, strongly guarded. He sends a message to Princian, who comes and acts generously towards him, even giving him a magic ring from his finger, which he is to bring again. He gets the King and the courtiers to help him up on his ass, allays their suspicion that he is an imposter, and rides off,

apparently up the country. After nightfall, however, he doubles back to the sea-shore, changes his disguise and his complexion, and is prepared to appear in the town next day in a new character. The Queen's suspicions have been aroused by what she heard about him, and by the loss of the ring which had been Salman's gift to her. When she hears of the cripple's piercing eye, she is sure it is Morolf; orders the harbours to be watched, so that he may not escape, and offers a reward for his capture. Princian and his men, scouring the country next day, meet with Morolf, now a pilgrim, who answers their enquiries by directing them where they will find the cripple's ass. The ass is unknown at Acre, but is recognised by Salme as a beast she has seen working about the temple at Jerusalem. The pilgrim then must have been Morolf, and is to be sought for. Next day, however, Morolf is a Spielmann, with red silk cloak and harp; and when the chamberlains sent out to find the pilgrim ask him what he knows, he says he saw that worthy proceeding towards Acre, and that if they wait where they are they will soon see him. He plays to their dancing till nightfall, and then goes off well rewarded, and Salme, on being told of the Spielmann, once more recognizes her enemy. Next day Morolf appears as a butcher, and the day following as a pedlar, and on the evening of this day he goes down to the sea, throws away his basket of wares, and goes off in his boat for Jerusalem, where he arrives after six months' absence.

Salman is rejoiced to see him, but unwilling to risk his own life in another attempt to gain possession of the Queen; Morolf has to lead the expedition himself; Duke Frederic joins him with a thousand men. They arrive at a mountain near Castel,* which is inhabited by a mermaid and a company of dwarfs. These recognise Morolf as a relative, and promise to assist him in recovering the Queen; six dwarfs, accustomed to engineering operations, are to destroy the rocky passage connecting the Queen's dwelling with the castle, during the night, and Morolf is then to seize the stronghold and take Princian prisoner; and this is successfully accomplished. Princian is allowed to go off

* At the time of the Crusades there was a place with this name in the neighbourhood of Acre.

free, but for this he proves ungrateful, as he brings his brother Belian with an army, and obliges Morolf and his men to fight a great battle. It ends with a duel between Morolf and Princian, and in Princian's head being thrown by Morolf into Salme's lap.

After another absence of half a year Morolf returns to Jerusalem with the captured Queen. He is allowed, according to promise, to dispose of her, and causes her to bleed to death in a bath. Salman is then married to Fore's sister, with whom he reigns happily for thirty years; and then they both entered into God's mercy.

'May his grace be with us also!'

A. MENZIES.

ART. V.—PERTHSHIRE.

AS we noticed in the first article, Forfarshire is made up of two parallel ridges and two depressions. The same four bands, continued to the eastward, form the greater part of Kincardine; to the westward make up Perthshire. The three counties may thus be regarded as various modifications of the same simple general features.

The strike or direction of hill and valley is decidedly to the south-west. The Grampians enter the county at the north-east corner, and there simply form the northern boundary; but as they proceed they spread further down, until they occupy nearly the whole space from north to south.

The other divisions, ere they reach the west, pass out of the county either in whole or in part. Strathmore, a lordly valley to begin with, is difficult to trace on its westward course, and becomes wholly insignificant. The Sidlaws simply cut off the south-east corner as far as Perth, where their course is brought to a somewhat abrupt conclusion. The maritime plain, naturally, from the structure of the county, the shortest of all, is represented by that alluvial stretch between the Sid-

laws and the sea, and from Invergowrie to Perth, known as the Carse of Gowrie.

On the west and north the boundaries are lofty mountains, similar to those which separate between Forfar and Aberdeen, forming the watershed between Perthshire and adjoining counties. This tremendous rampart is broken only in two places, *i.e.*, by the drear and solitary moor of Rannoch, and by Loch Erricht. When it touches on Forfarshire the margin is continued along the ridge which separates between Glen Shee and Glen Isla. For two miles in the neighbourhood of Mount Blair, it is defined by the Shee, from which it diverges, to join the Isla, whose course it follows irregularly from Airlie Castle to Cardean, thence it is tame, and unmarked by any natural feature, until it reaches the Tay at Invergowrie. Crossing the river at Mugdrum near Newburgh, it follows the Ochil range, until, roughly speaking and omitting a number of confusing eccentricities, it picks up the Forth near Stirling. Thence, by Loch Katrine and Loch Lomond, it returns to the western barrier whence we started.

The south-west corner, which we have characterised as the extension of the Forfarshire maritime plain, although it differs in many important particulars, is about fifteen miles long by two to four miles broad. It is naturally widest on the Forfarshire side, and narrows to a point as it approaches Perth. It is a flat stretch of Carse land, backed up by softly-swelling hills. The soil is a heavy rich clay, with a tendency to retain moisture in wet weather. As a quaint Scotch lady put it, 'it sometimes greets a' winter and girms a' simmer.' It is quite apparent that much of it has been redeemed from water quite recently. It seems impossible to eradicate the marsh grass, 'Phragmites Communis,' which insists on springing up in the middle of the cornfields, and through the hedge-rows. The sluggish burns of the district are known by the strange name of 'powa.'

The Sidlaws cross into Perthshire at Gask Hill, and almost immediately rise into three considerable eminences, King's Seat, Black Hill, and Dunsinane. With the last of these a break occurs, and the range drops away to the south. Thence

in a line of somewhat lower elevation it is continued to Kin-noul, or, if we cross the Tay which separates the two, to Mon-crief Hill. Beyond this latter height another gap of greater dimensions occurs, through which the Earn finds its way. The range, for it is really the same, drops away very considerably to the south, and thereafter is known as the Ochils.

Perthshire Strathmore begins where the Isla flows under the bridge of Crathie, in the picturesque neighbourhood of Meigle; and increases in breadth and effectiveness until the Forfarshire stream joins the Tay at Kinclaven Castle. Here, and for some distance beyond, it is at its noblest, and presents a breadth of some twelve or fourteen miles. One must have climbed the Sidlaws, or the Grampians, and looked down upon the scene to appreciate how impressive the greatness of this queen of Scottish valleys is.

The first break in its continuity is caused by the high grounds which separate between the Almond and the Earn. Thenceforward, it is rather a series of cross valleys, with intervening ridges, than a single depression. The various streams which break out from the Highland hills, lend rather the breadth than the length of their basins to the continuation of Strathmore. Beyond the Almond we once more strike the valley, under the new local name of Strathearn. On the far side of this, another ridge occurs, which separates the Earn from Strathallan. On crossing this a very noticeable change takes place in the flow of the waters. Before, the direction was approximately south-eastward, now it is as decidedly south-westward. This last ridge thus turns out to be a natural water-shed, a barrier between two drainage areas, directing the rainfall on the one side away north of the Ochils, to join the Tay in the neighbourhood of Perth; and, on the other side, away south of the Ochils, into Stirlingshire, and the central valley of Scotland. The most southerly of all the Highland valleys suddenly expands and flattens down at Gartmore, 18 miles above Stirling, into a level strath; a broad band of carse ground; and this strath, the luxuriant wheat-bearing vale of the Forth, after leaving the overshadowing flank of every spur of the Grampians, sweeps along all the remaining

part of the southern boundary of the county, so far as it lies upon the Forth.

The remainder of Perthshire, two-thirds of the whole, belongs to the Highlands. Comparatively tame on the Strathmore side, these regions increase in sternness and elevation as they approach the borders of the county. The hills now opening to leave space for a glen or to embosom a lake; now closing to form a stupendous pass or gorge for the trembling stream, yield all the elements of grandeur, picturesqueness, and romantic beauty.

How this has all been wrought into its attractive and impressive form seems simple enough if one has the key. Professor Archibald Geikie reads it somewhat thus:—When the scene rose above the waters, it presented a sea-worn track of land, unfurrowed and approximately flat. On this the rain fell; and, after the manner of water, had a tendency to find the lowest level, and to take the nearest way to it. From the high ground, forming the present watershed, to the depression now known as Strathmore, would be the route chosen; with deviations from the straight course here and there to take advantage of some shallow natural depression, or to avoid some specially hard piece of rock. This is nothing more than a great natural system of drainage; and to those who would cast any doubt on the explanation we would be inclined to say, how otherwise do you suppose the water would act? The same thing is illustrated every wet day where the rain falls on any elevation, however slightly raised above the general level. At first the water would run down in a wide and shallow stream; but, in course of time, it would find out the most easily erosible material and form a channel for itself. The rest is only a matter of time; and the time which has elapsed since the process began is quite sufficient for the purpose. By ceaseless flow and wear, and the friction of the waste material it carried along in its course, the shallow here was deepened into a glen or gorge. The streams which give so much charm and life to the scene would thus seem to have been the primitive architects or sculptors of the whole.

The Garry is one of these streams, rising in the northern

watershed, and flowing away south-east presumably in as direct a track for the plain as the obstacles, when its bed was being formed long ago, would allow. It is interesting to notice in passing that all the Forfarshire highland streams flow in the same direction in obedience to the same simple law. On its way the Garry receives the Tummel, and also the Tay at right angles to its course. These streams do not take the nearest way to the plain, but flow along in the direction or strike of the Strath. There are thus two laws at work in this hollowing out process; the one forming transverse, the other longitudinal valleys. The Tummel and the Tay, in the early part of their course, are such longitudinal valleys. They flow along anticlinal arches, or what were once ridges of hills. It has been pointed out that in the crumpling process caused by the shrinkage of the earth's crust, the summits of those portions thrown up as ranges of mountains would necessarily be the weaker part, and most exposed to the action of eroding agents. But why do the Tummel and the Tay, after following this course for a certain distance, suddenly turn to the south and flow transversely. The explanation seems to be that the Garry was already in existence, and had ploughed a channel sufficiently deep before the longitudinal streams had reached that length at least in any volume. Unable to cross to the other side, these simply tumbled in, and helped to swell the southward flowing torrent.

These Highland regions belong to the metamorphic series so characteristic of Scotland. Indeed, so largely do they bulk in the make up of the country that, not only do they determine the character of Scottish scenery, but for a long time they determined also the character of Scottish geology. Contorted and mixed up, and supposed to be destitute of fossils, they drew attention rather to the mineral composition of the rocks than to their orderly succession. The oldest of these rocks forms the outer Hebrides, and portions of the north-west coast of the mainland. Following these are certain sand-stones, quartzites, and lime-stones, of pre-Cambrian, and Cambrian age. So far all is plain enough. But what to make of the confused mass forming the north and

centre of Scotland, from the Pentland Firth to the Caledonian Canal, and thence to Strathmore, was the enigma. And around this there raged for a long time 'The Highland Controversy.' "It was reserved for two members of the Scottish Geological Survey working together, and a third geologist working independently, to discover the true solution; and this they did as recently as 1884. The two members of the Survey were Messrs. B. N. Peach, and J. Horne; and the independent worker was Professor Lapworth." What these observers discovered was, that an enormous displacement and inversion of the strata had taken place, so that great masses of ancient gneiss, etc., had been actually thrust over the top of more recent deposits. In this way the paradox, which had so perplexed the earlier geologists, was at once explained:—

'All we can safely assert regarding the metamorphic rocks east of the great glen forming the Caledonian Canal, and including Perthshire, is that they represent in an altered condition a thick accumulation of various sedimentary deposits; and that thick sheets of basic eruptive materials intercalated with huge bosses of granite, and other intrusive rocks have subsequently been injected into the whole. The Geological age of the great series of metamorphic rocks remains still doubtful.'

To the north of the great glen these debatable rocks have not yet been overtaken by the Geological Survey. To the south they have been mapped out in detail. Those of Perthshire are found to consist mainly of quartzites and mica schist, with a streak of lime-stone passing in the direction of Loch Tay. The quartzites and limestones may turn out to be of similar age with those of the west coast of Sutherland. A section from the neighbourhood of Dunkeld, first northward and then southward, will give a clear idea of the geological structure of Perthshire. The starting point we will make that curiously narrow strip of clay slate which crops out along or near the south-eastern boundary of the Highland rocks in a nearly uninterrupted line from Stonehaven on the east coast to Port-Bannatyne in the Isle of Bute. This band includes Birnam Hill, and is also seen at the Loch of Lowes near the Bridge of Cally at Craig Lee, north of Crieff, Comrie, and Cullander. To the north of this appear the quartzites, and

beyond these the foliated crystalline schists with outcrops of limestone. These seem to tell the tale of their origin simply enough.

The clay slates along the southern boundary of the area indicate a period during which only this margin of land was submerged but with a gradually subsiding movement. Next, the arenaceous bands point to more distinctly marine conditions with deeper water, but still in the vicinity of dry land. The mica schists and limestones were laid down in still deeper water when the land had sunk to a lower level and oceanic conditions prevailed. Lastly, the land began to rise again resulting in a shallower sea in which arenaceous deposits were again laid down. Returning to the band of slate and journeying southward we immediately cross the great fault which more or less sharply marks off the metamorphosed rocks of the Highlands from the unchanged sedimentary deposits of the plain. The first member of the old red sandstone we meet, and also the lowest of the series, is the great conglomerate. It also passes across the country from sea to sea. Its position and extent are approximately indicated by the richly wooded stretch which it occupies. It is best seen where exposed in the beds of streams at Blairgowrie and elsewhere. The whole remaining breath of Strathmore is occupied by the upper old red sandstone.

After the production of the comparatively level tableland of the Highlands, the land began to sink south of the great-fault. The sinking would direct the drainage towards the centre of depression. Along the bottom of the lake thus formed beds of pebbles brought down by streams from the crystalline rocks of the Highlands would begin to accumulate. By the continuous sinking of this area, these deposits would gradually creep back, and accumulations of sand would take place further out in the deeper water. In this manner the conglomerate would always preserve its position at the base of the system, and would, in its turn, get overlaid by the sand carried out towards the centre of the lake. It is evident that, at the time of the formation of the conglomerate, the sides of the Gram-

pians must have formed the northern shore line of Lake Caledonia, along which it was laid down as gravel.

On reaching the southern boundary of Strathmore, in the neighbourhood of Perth, we pass through the volcanic band, represented in the Sidlaws, to reach the Carse of Gowrie. Here we come quite suddenly upon younger formations, such as the upper old red sandstones at Clashbennie, and even a patch of the still more recent carboniferous deposits at Dron, the only rocks of these ages in Perthshire. At first sight it is difficult to account for the preservation of these in a valley which seems to have been largely ploughed out by the stream. It would seem that, along with the erosion, there has been a movement of depression, the whole area being lowered down between two great cleavages on the once continuous strata.

"The northern line of fault is seen along the southern front of Moncrieff Hill, and it crosses the Tay somewhere about the back of Inchyra, running along the foot of the Sidlaw hills towards Pitroddie and Kinnaird, and thence eastward towards Dundee. The southern line of fault runs in a parallel direction, extending from Glenearn along by Dron and Abernethy, and thence to Newburgh. The effect of this fault has been to bring down into the very heart of the old red sandstone, rocks of the upper old red sandstone members, and even the basement beds of the carboniferous series. This trough fault has had a most important influence on the topography of the district, for it has carried down the hard volcanic rocks and presented to the surface the softer overlying sandstones of the upper old red and carboniferous series, which, in turn, have been worn away by the process of denudation, and thus given rise to the present valley of the Tay below Perth.

Igneous outcrops of various ages occur in Perthshire, from those present among the metamorphosed rocks of the Highlands to those which run in streaks across the valleys, scarcely rising above the surface of the plain. The most familiar to the ordinary observer are those which belong to the lower old red sandstone period, represented in the line of the Sidlaws and the Ochils. At intervals considerable volcanic activity seems to have prevailed at the bottom of that old lake of Caledonia,

leading to vast outpourings, of which these familiar hills are the remnant.

Between the lower old red sandstone and the old tertiary eras there is no evidence of any disturbance in Perthshire. The upper old red sandstone of the Carse of Gowrie, like the same deposits elsewhere, is unbroken by igneous rocks. And the same holds true of the minute patch of carboniferous strata. But on the last series of disturbances to which we owe the Inner Hebrides, the county seems to have had its full share. In the geological map these intrusive basalt rocks may be seen crossing the valley in narrow lines of red. We are likely to meet them in tracing out the course of the Tay. They represent the welling up of the molten rocks through cracks in the earth's crust, and may either have reached the surface at the first or been afterwards exposed by denudation.

The running waters of Perthshire include the two noblest rivers in Scotland; indeed, may be said to consist of these two rivers and their tributaries. Forth and Tay rise among its mountains.

The Forth belongs to the south-east corner, showing how far and fast the metamorphic heights have crept south. Its basin bears about the same relation to that of the Tay as the Carse of Gowrie bears to the rest of the county. It is a Perthshire river only in the sense in which a man who was born there, but has spent the greater part of his life elsewhere, may be called a Perthshire man. It is on the far side of the high ground which directs the waters to the southward, and escapes through the gap between the Ochils and the Campsies. From the first it belongs only half to Perth and half to Stirling; its two head waters rising one in each county. The northern and more important branch is nameless. Beginning in the neighbourhood of Loch Katrine, it expands into several beautiful sheets of water. Immediately after leaving Loch Ard it tumbles over a fall of thirty feet, and a mile further down is joined by the Stirlingshire branch, the Duchray water. Through the narrow pass of Aberfoyle the combined streams reach that portion of Strathmore formed by the valley of the infant Forth. It now coquettes

for awhile on the low grounds between Perth and Stirling, before finally deserting its native county. This is by far the most interesting and picturesque corner of Perthshire, a veritable fairyland of beauty and romance.

It is only necessary to recall the name of the first considerable tributary to be made aware of this. What a wonderful district the Teith brightens and vivifies. Like the Forth, it rises in two head waters. The southern of these makes a run of four miles from its origin, due south-west, to the head of Loch Katrine. Passing through the entire length of the loch, it emerges from the south-east corner, and immediately begins to traverse the Trossachs, 'a contracted vale, whose sides are soaring eminences, wildly and irregularly feathered all over with hazels, oaks, birches, hawthorns, and mountain ashes; and whose centre space is a tumultuous confusion of little rocky heights, all of the most fantastic and extraordinary forms, everywhere shaggy with trees and shrubs, and presenting an aspect of roughness and wildness of tangled and inextricable boskiness, totally unexampled, it is supposed, in the world.' Debouching from this scene, it is instantly lost in Loch Achray, and one and a half miles further on it is engulfed in Loch Vennacher, overhung by Ben Ledi. On issuing from the latter lake it assumes the name of Eas Gobhain, the Smith, and under this wild designation it careers on till it meets the twin stream. We have all visited this region under the most skilful and delightful guidance.

The Tay, while yet within the mountain fastnesses which watch over its early course, is made up of three considerable streams. The Garry, which, as we have seen, takes the nearest way to the lower level, flows south-east. Its channel is deep, its flow is tumultuous, its banks are rugged and occasionally savage. Its main tributaries are the Buar and the Tilt. The former is justly noted for its falls. The glen of the latter was the scene of that never-to-be-forgotten battle in which the late redoubtable Professor Balour and his followers asserted their right-of-way, and won, not for the first time a signal victory. The Highland caterans who stood in their way, were not less

astounded at their assurance in disputing the slightest wish of the Duke, than by the imbecility of the visitors who had come,

“ A hunner mile
For what was hardly worth their while,
And a' tae pu'
Some girse that grew
On Ben Macdhu,
That ne'er a coo
Wad think tae pit her mou' till.”

The second of these streams, the Tummel, is popularly regarded as flowing out of Loch Rannoch on the east side of this moor, although it may be traced further into the wilds, and identified with the Rannoch and the Gauer. Its early course is rapid, but after it joins the Garry and bends to the south, much quieter. Seeing that it borrows the channel of the Garry and uses it for the remainder of its journey, it seems somewhat less than justice that it should insist also in giving its name to the combined waters. But so it is.

A third stream rises in the western water-shed separating Perthshire from Argyllshire, and flows approximately east to Loch Dochart. In this earliest stage it is known as the Fillan. Issuing from the loch as the Dochart, it pursues a further course of eight miles to Killin. There it is joined by the Lochy, and the two enter Loch Tay together. It now takes the name which it bears for the remainder of its course. From Kenmore, on the east side of the loch, to its junction with the Tummel, is some fourteen miles. A further flow of seven or eight miles leads past Dunkeld and out of the Highland region.

The vale of the Tay, from Dunkeld to Kenmore, a space of twenty-five miles, is a continued scene of beauty—a majestic river winding through a richly-wooded and cultivated country, with a lofty and somewhat parallel mountain boundary, which is itself cultivated as far as cultivation is possible, and is everywhere covered with continuous woods or trees, as high as woods can grow. In its magnificent sweep across Strathmore, from below Dunkeld to Perth by Kinclaven Castle, it is not too much to say that what it loses in picturesqueness it gains in majesty. Its passage through the western part of the

Carse of Gowrie, as seen from Kinnoul hill, is something to be remembered. Below Inchyra, but on the opposite side, it receives the lordly tributary of the Earn. 'In the general course of this my careful narrative,' says John Ruskin, 'I rebut, with as much indignation as may be permitted without ill manner, the charge of partiality to anything merely because it was seen when I was young, that Scottish sheaves are more golden than they are found in other lands, and that no harvest elsewhere visible to human eyes are so like the corn of heaven as those of Strath Tay and Strath Earn.' Below the point we have reached the features of the river are blotted out by the tidal waters. The main tributaries of the Tay after it issues from the hills are the Isla, which comes out of Forfarshire and joins it at the nearest point of approach to that county at Kinclaven Castle. Perhaps it would be as well to add the Erricht, which makes up a considerable portion of the volume of the Isla, and is a true Perthshire stream. The Almond on the north side of Perth; and, separated from it by the ridge already mentioned, the Earn on the south side, complete the list.

At the risk of a little repetition, it may be worth while to return and once more follow the river on its course seaward. We may thus be able to bring to the surface one or two interesting facts and map out its bed.

The Tay, as we have seen, passes over the two main divisions of the strata of the county, the metamorphosed rocks of the Highlands, and the sedimentary rocks of the Lowlands. From Kenmore on Loch Tay to two miles below Dunkeld its flow is over the former, thenceforward over the latter. About a mile below Dunkeld it crosses the strip of clay slate already referred to, thence to Caputh its bed is formed of the great conglomerate or first member of the sandstone series. In its way through Strathmore it meets several of these remarkable basalt dykes; in one instance, just below Cargill, being deflected from its course, and forced to run parallel with one of these for half a mile before effecting a passage. At Stormontfield it flows over a local outcrop of conglomerate about six hundred yards wide. From Perth to Inchyra it crosses the band of volcanic rocks forming the Sidlaw range. An accom-

plished geologist ask why it did not take the seemingly open course around Moncrieff hill into Strathearn; and reasons that it must have found it still easier to flow along the anticlinal arch through which it has ploughed its present bed. Beyond this, for the rest of its course, it runs parallel with these Sidlaw hills, between them and the corresponding Ochil range along the north of Fife.

Closely associated with the streams are the lakes. These are the characteristic feature of the county, and lend it most of its romantic charm. Remove them and the light would go out. These lakes for the most part belong to the northern division, and lie pent up among the hills. They appear together in linear groups, three or four gems strung together on the silver thread of the stream. The head waters, generally before they have attained any volume, expand into sheets re-appearing at the far end, only to form at no great distance another, and still another sheet. Instance the Forth, one of whose parent streams forms, and strings together Loch Conn, Loch Dow, and Loch Ard. The Teith, with its still rarer gems, Loch Katrine, Loch Achray, and Loch Vennacher.

The simplest and most natural explanation of these lochs, seems to be that the stream found a hollow on its course, which it proceeded to fill, overflowing at the far end, and continuing on its way till it came on a second, and a third hollow. So far all is plain enough; but the depressions in the Highland glens in which the waters of the streams thus gathered into the form of lakes, themselves need explaining. And to Professor A. C. Ramsay belongs the honour of making clear their origin and meaning.

The lakes in the Highland district of Perthshire lie in clear stony basins, which must in some way have been scooped out of the hard underlying rock. This is a work far beyond the power of running water, even if we grant that at one time there was a much greater volume than we have now.

A hint as to the real cause is supplied by the fact that the sides of these rocky basins are smoothed, and often scored, as if by the passing over of some tremendous weight. The only agent known to have been in operation in the past history of

the place, sufficient to account for these appearances, is ice. Some obstacle interrupted the even flow of the glacier down the valley, and piled up the ice. The greater mass would cause increased pressure, and give greater powers of erosion at that particular place. That passed, the ice would resume its normal flow until another, and a third obstacle presented themselves. Thus a second sculptor is needed to account for these Highland scenes. First, the streams which broke up the monotonous tableland into picturesque gorges and valleys; and, long afterwards, the glaciers which filled these valleys, and by their unequal pressure added the charm of the lake to that of the stream. Loch Tay, large and deep as it is, like the other rock-enclosed lakes, has had its basin scooped out by land ice.

Outside the Highland region, and within the area of the old red sandstone, there exists a remarkable string of lakes, beginning in the neighbourhood of Dunkeld, and passing to the south of Blairgowrie in the direction of Coupar Angus. These undoubtedly mark an ancient glacier track, but the explanation is not the same. They probably illustrate another principle of lake formation, also pointed out by Professor Ramsay, where the water, instead of filling some scooped out rocky basin, is gathered into a hollow in the superficial deposit, or detained by some bar of drift left across the valley by the retreating ice. A number of such lakes seem at one time to have existed all along Forfarshire Strathmore.

It need scarcely be said that a county so essentially highland as Perthshire is rich in its Alpine flora. In addition to its elevations, and favourable sites, it provides in the waste of its mica schists, just the sort of soil which these plants seem to thrive in, bare but invigorating. The Alpine region of Great Britain is Scotland, and the Alpine region of Scotland is a comparatively restricted one, consisting only of the Clova and Caenlochan heights and fastnesses, which we have already visited; and the Breadalbane mountains of Perthshire. Between the rival counties Perthshire possesses the advantage of having the largest number gathered on one hill side, Ben Lawers, of which we shall have occasion to give an independent sketch

further on, and is incomparably the richest field for Alpines in Scotland. In comparing the two counties it is interesting to discover how evenly balanced the honours are. They have exactly the same number of species, and so far they agree; but each county numbers seven species not found in the other. In our excursion to the mountains above Glen Dole we mentioned this *Oxytropis campetris*, which is not found in Perthshire, or anywhere else in Great Britain. On the top of a hill we found the Alpine catchfly, *Lychnis alpina*, which is not met again till we cross the border into Cumberland. The largest of our hill plants, quite a giant among the dwarfs, the Alpine sowthistle, *Mulgedium alpinum*, grows in Caenness at the top of Glen Isla, and elsewhere in Lochnagar. So much for Forfarshire. In Perthshire, on the other hand, we find *Saxifraga cernua* growing on the west side, near the summit of Ben Lawers, this being its only site within these islands. *Menziesia cærulea*, a species of heath with large purple bell, is found on the Sow of Athole. The Alpine forget-me-not, *Myosotis alpestris*, grows freely enough on Ben Lawers, but not between that and Teesdale.

The most remarkable plant common to both counties is the snowy gentian, *Gentiana nivalis*, which we found on Caenlochan, and now again come upon on the west side of the Cairn of Ben Lawers. Among ferns, *Polypodium alpestre* is found in Glen Prosen, Forfarshire, but not in Perthshire. Whereas *Cystopteris montana*, *Woodsia ilvensis*, and *hyporborea*, are all very rare, but found in both counties. This will serve for the only division of plant life which is characteristic and worth mentioning, until we come to describe a typical Perthshire hill.

If we are delighted with the flora of Perthshire, we must confess to being somewhat disappointed with the fauna. It is just such a county as we should expect to be rich in species, full of rare creatures; but very careful and extensive enquiries have led to the sorrowful conclusion that a rapid and only too successful process of extermination is going on. We are prepared to find that all sorts of game animals abound, for that is what the proprietors make their money by, and all that

hills seem to be of use for ; but we are scarcely prepared for the almost complete extinction of the real or supposed destroyers of game, many of them, notwithstanding their habits, extremely interesting and beautiful animals. We are sure that it would startle some people if we published a few of the lists we have at our hand now. Forfarshire, with its comparatively restricted hill area, has a better record to show. We cannot refrain pleading, 'Mercy gentlemen, for you are gentlemen, and not cockneys or millionaires. There are surely other interests in the world beside so called sport. If you kill out all the eagles you won't be able to make another, and that is a pity.'

Red deer, roe deer, and fallow deer abound. Some interesting varieties of the latter are kept at Taymouth Castle. Ptarmigan and dotterel possess the heights. Red grouse, capercaillie and blackcock, pheasant and partridge, are numerous in their favourite haunts of heather, fir plantation, wood copse or stubble. The blue hare is on the hills, the grey hare on the plains, the fox in the covert, the otter by the stream ; all these more or less lend themselves to sport. Here the favourable record ends, as far as land animals are concerned. The polecat, the marten, and the wild cat, seem to be extinct. If any survive, they must have a genius for keeping out of sight ; naughty animals, no doubt, but still worth looking at. The badger, an innocent enough brute, is almost as rare among the wilds as it is in the tamer landscapes of Fifeshire. Golden eagles and peregrine falcons are very much less common now than they ought to be, in this, their native land.

The waterfowl on the magnificent lakes and broad stretches of river are too varied to mention, for waterfowl seem able to look after themselves ; but even here the genius of destruction pursues every animal with a hooked bill. The osprey or fishing hawk is reported as only occasional, instead of, as it ought to be, common. This is one of the birds which, for obvious reasons, is absent from Forfarshire.

There seems to be some doubt about the goldfinch, as to whether it does not still hold a precarious footing in Perth-

shire, somewhere in the neighbourhood of Dunkeld. There is little use troubling ourselves to enquire, for, if it is not extinct it soon will be. Among the warblers, which are all summer visitors, except the robin and the hedge 'sparrow,' the more interesting forms reported from Perthshire are, the garden warbler, which seems to be common in some districts, and the grasshopper warbler, which appears only very occasionally.

Perthshire has its full share of the antiquities usually found in the eastern counties of Scotland. Quite a large number of stone circles, some of them wonderfully perfect, represent the bronze age. These are locally known, and even more generally regarded as Druid temples. They seem to have no claim, however, to the questionable honour; but were associated with the funeral customs of those distant times, marking out the place of individual or family interment.

Hill forts, which belong to the succeeding iron age, are also numerous, and some of considerably more than usual interest are found.

An example of a structure usually referred to this same era, which we have not yet met with, was discovered at Coldoch in 1870. The typical characteristics of the special form which has come to be known in recent years by the local northern name of Broch, are as follows: 'It is a hollow circular tower of dry stone masonry, rarely more than 70 or less than 40 feet in its total diameter, and occasionally at least 50 feet high. Its circular wall, which may be from 9 to 20 feet thick, is carried up solid for about 10 feet, except where it is pierced by the entrance, or partially hollowed by the construction within its thickness of oblong chambers with rudely vaulted roofs. Above this height the wall is carried up, with a vacancy of about 3 feet wide between its exterior and interior portions. At every 5 or 6 feet of its height this vacancy is crossed by horizontal ranges of slabs inserted as ties between the outer and inner shells of the wall, so that their upper surface forms a floor to the space above, and their under surface becomes a roof to the space below. These spaces thus form horizontal galleries, about 6 feet high and 3 feet wide, separated from each other vertically by the slabs of their floors and roofs.

They run completely round the tower, except that they are crossed successively by the stair which gives access to them. They are lighted by ranges of peculiarly constructed windows placed vertically over each other, and all looking into the central area enclosed by the wall of the tower. This area or court varies from 20 to 45 feet in diameter. At various points in its interior circumference are placed the openings which give access to the chambers on the ground floor within the wall, and to the stair which extends to the galleries. The only aperture to the outside of the tower is the doorway. It is always on the ground level, 5 or 6 feet high, and rarely more than 3 feet wide, passing straight through the thickness of the wall, and then varying from 9 to 18 feet in length.'

Those windowless, roofless, dry stone erections, have sometimes been represented as the immediate predecessors of the more modern castle. They were evidently designed as retreats in time of danger. Their peculiar nature as exceptionally secure places of refuge for non-combatants and cattle, and for storage of produce, explains the fitness of their association with the arable soils of the area in which they are most abundantly present.

The principal interest in the Broch at Coldoch, is that it is one of three found south of the Caledonian Canal. It is clear that the principal area of this type lies within the region to the north of that valley comprehending the five northern counties of Scotland. Within that area they are known to exist abundantly, beyond it sparsely; out of Scotland the type is unknown. The most perfect is that of Mousa, in Shetland, and the writer found it quite a familiar object in his wanderings through the Northern Isles.

Those who have already burned their fingers at archæology, will have a wholesome dread of again approaching the fire. Especially will they hesitate to dogmatise on anything Roman, whether it be Roman camps or Roman bridges. Authorities are by no means agreed as to the so-called Roman remains in Perthshire, although these are carefully marked in the Ordinance Survey map, and recorded elsewhere. But there seems no good reason to doubt the genuineness of so much as

is left of the camp at Ardoch, the largest of the kind in Scotland.

Dunblane and Dunkeld were ecclesiastical establishments, whose history dims away back into tradition. Among the more notable secular buildings, ruinous and inhabited, are Kinclaven and Elcho, Huntly, Taymouth, and Blair Castles.

'Elcho Castle occupies a picturesque situation on the south bank of the Tay, about five miles eastward from the City of Perth. The building is in a good state of preservation, and though it has long been abandoned as a residence by the noble family to whom it belongs, the courtesy title of Lord Elcho is borne by the heir apparent. That there was some kind of keep near this spot in the time of Wallace is certain. But from the style of its construction the present castle seems to be not older than the sixteenth century.'

'The great historic scene in the parish of Kenmore is Taymouth Castle, the seat of the noble family of Breadalbane. Its former name was Balloch, which signifies the mouth or outlet of a lake or glen. Both Balloch and Taymouth describe the situation of this mansion, which is by the mouth of the Tay, a mile east of the point where it flows out of the loch. Taymouth Castle is a truly magnificent pile, with a lofty quadrangular tower in the centre, carrying up a superb staircase. Its environs are as magnificent as itself. The vale is not spacious enough to admit of that apparently boundless contiguity of park which constitutes such a charm round the baronial residences of England. But the hills are abrupt, luxuriantly wooded, and broken into every sort of picturesque and varied outline.

No notice of Perthshire would be complete without a reference to Scone. Most of the long line of Scottish Kings were crowned there. The glory of the royal city of Scone departed long ago. Old Scone, as it is distinctively called, is now a hamlet rather than a village. Being inconveniently near the palace, William, third Earl of Mansfield, possessed himself of all the property in it which he could acquire by purchase or by exchange, and enclosed it within the wall of the palace grounds. The relics there of the city which are still to be seen are the burying-ground which surrounded the church and the cross. The former the Earl could not remove, and the latter has been allowed to stand near its original site. The feuars bought out had the option of taking feus at New Scone. Thither the parish church and manse were transferred, so also was the church seat of the Scone family, which was set up in

the new church. The present palace was reared on the site of the old one 1803-8.

In Perthshire the warring elements of civilisation and barbarism were brought dangerously near together. These metamorphic hills, with their wild glens, which we have just described, offered a secure retreat for the ancient Celtic inhabitants of the land, and the valley of Strathmore, running along their base, was a convenient highway for invaders. On the southern margin of the plain, within easy reach of those hills, was a rich city, for a long time the capital of Scotland and the frequent resort of the Court. For many centuries faction was constant and raids frequent. The only check upon these were the feuds among the Highland chieftains themselves. The most dramatic incident in these feuds was the combat on the North Inch in the reign of Robert III. Thirty of the best men of Clan Chattan met a like number of Clan Kay, and all but annihilated each other in the presence of the Court. A barbarous proceeding no doubt, but they would have done it at any rate when the carnage would have been greater, and it served the further purpose of laming them so that they could not do mischief to more peacefully disposed people. No revolution could be more complete than that which has taken place in the relation between the inhabitants of mountain and plain. These Perthshire fastnesses, which Simon Glover visited with fear and trembling, and from which Bailie Nicol Jarvie failed to bring away both tails of his coat, are now the pleasant summer resort of the good citizens of both Perth and Glasgow.

There are three places in Perthshire of exceptional interest. If a line were drawn from Loch Katrine in the south-west, to Perth in the south-east, and a line from each of these places to Ben Lawers in the middle, inclining to the west, the shape would be approximately an equilateral triangle. The main interest in the three places varies; that of Loch Katrine being scenic and romantic; of Perth, traditional and historic; of Ben Lawers, natural inclining to scientific. Loch Katrine is the paradise of tourists and sight seers; Perth, although its situation is unrivalled, of antiquaries and those who take an

interest in matters human ; Ben Lawers, although the view from the summit is worth the climb, of botanists.

Loch Katrine is well known, at all events as it is reflected in the pages, or rather appears on the highly coloured canvas of Scott. This was the rare haunt of the Lady of the Lake, a scene which few will leave unvisited who would understand the fascination of typical Scottish scenery, or the modern development of the Highlands. A wonderful revolution took its rise there. The half natural half romantic charm with which Scott invested it drew visitors from the ends of the earth to look on for themselves. These went home to tell their neighbours, and so the rush began, and the popularity of the Highlands increased.

The gift was half for good and half for evil. It created a taste for natural beauty now so common, but until then almost unknown ; and it brought a lot of money to the poorest district of a poor country. In this way it made the Highlands, and opened up a new source of pure enjoyment to large classes of people.

If along with this it helped to spoil and disturb these fair scenes ; if it caused fashionable hotels to be raised along these lake sides ; if, as Baillie Nicol Jarvie would phrase it, it brought 'the sant market o' Glesca' into the hielants ; if it introduced a new race of vulgar and upstart proprietors and lessees ; in this, as in other things, we must take the evil along with the good.

Ben Lawers, with an elevation of nearly four thousand feet, like many another height in this country, is dome-shaped. It rises on the north side of Loch Tay, in the angle which the broad basin of that sheet of water forms with the glen, narrowing into the pass of Lyon. We have seen that such depressions running east and west are not natural valleys, but rather lie along anticlinal arches, the strata being bent upwards as if at one time they met in some point overhead. Placed between two such valleys, we are prepared to find that Ben Lawers is not a natural height formed by an upward curving of the schist of which it is composed, but actually lies in a basin of the rocks which dip underneath the mountains on the banks of

Loch Tay, and rise up from its further skirt in Glen Lyon. In other words, the appearances are such as to suggest that once upon a time mountains rose on either side into still more gigantic heights, which overarched the present valleys of the Lyon and the Tay.

These features are by no means peculiar to Ben Lawers, but are shared by other elevations between the glens. It is as a field for Alpines that it reigns without rival among the mountains of Great Britain.

We have already indicated the rarer forms to be found there, and it would be impossible to name all the rest. Among those more generally distributed are the yellow and starry saxifrages. Above two thousand feet the opposite-leaved, and mountain saxifrages, the alpine meadow rue, the mouse-eared chick weed (*Cerastium alpinum*) and the rose root are found. Rocky places yield the interesting dwarf willows, *Salix herbacea* and *reticulata*. And near the summit grows the stemless campion *silene acaulis*. The brittle fern, and green spleenwort are common; and at somewhat greater heights the common shield fern and the holly fern.

Beautiful for situation is Perth, and interesting as beautiful. One is always charmed, and one never wearies. 'Ecce Tiber! Ecce campus Martius!' exclaimed the Roman as he came in sight of that eddy of the plain on which it stands with its sweep of Tay. And an exclamation equally involuntary, and even more complimentary, comes to the lips of every sensitive person who approaches in the same direction. The scene, it is happily impossible even for human ingenuity to spoil. But there, as elsewhere, many of the ancient things are being swept away by that relentless spirit of improvement which is either lacking in imagination, or overcharged with zeal.

Many a stirring incident has it witnessed in the course of its long history of which no record in stone and lime remains. Among the rest there was that half comic episode known as the Gowrie Conspiracy; and that more sternly tragic one which brought about the end of our poet king, James I. One asks for Gowrie palace, the scene of the former, and is pointed to the County Buildings; for Blackfriars Monastery, the scene

of the latter, and is directed to Pullar's dyework. The castle, which Perth like other old places once boasted, has long been razed to the ground, and its site is approximately indicated by the name of a street.

This is disappointing. True, there is a large square portion of quaint, narrow-streeted old town left, by the aid of which we can realise to a certain extent the life of the eighteenth century. And there are signs that a spirit of protection and revival is awakening.

Although so large, Perthshire is strictly inland. Twice a day, indeed, the tidal waters lave the Carse of Gowrie; but that gives no claim to a coast. Inverness, Ross, all our bulkier counties either margin the sea, or some considerable arm of the sea for a greater or less distance. The coastless shires, such as Stirling and Lanark, are with this exception, comparatively insignificant.

Perthshire is not only essentially inland, but also essentially upland. Three-fourths of it belong to the metamorphic mountain system; the other fourth forming a broad fringe of magnificent plain. These elements have determined not only the nature of its scenery, but the character and relations of its inhabitants. And if the new conditions of life introduced within the last half century, primarily by the work of Sir Walter Scott, are modifying the human elements, they have done nothing to alter the scene.

This is the central county of Scotland in more senses than one, and has the natural and hereditary right to be regarded as queen of the land. It was the first to draw attention hitherward, and still remains the chief attraction. When the Southron talks of the Highlands he means Perthshire; when he starts for the Highlands he arrives in Perthshire. There are doubtless 'hills beyond Grampians, and lands beyond Tay'; but on either side of the great water-shed which marks the northern boundary of this county there is a tendency to become tamer and commoner. The charm of the scene is according to the seekers. To some it may be those stream-ploughed ravines, and glacier-scooped lakes; to others the purple autumn hills with the whirling coveys of richly dark birds;

but charm there is for all. And if men would only leave the wild life alone we do not know that there would be a more interesting and enchanting place to spend a summer holiday than this same Perthshire. The other counties may well say, as was once said of a great statesman, 'We are all proud of you.'

J. H. CRAWFORD.

ART. VI.—MODERN MOSLEMS.

THE wish to form an unprejudiced estimate of Islam, which manifests itself in the writings of various distinguished Europeans at the present time, leads them on the one hand to lend a willing ear to the statements of such Moslems as are anxious to represent themselves as liberal and advanced thinkers, and on the other to weigh the words of the Korân against the deeds of Christians. But it is impossible to judge what Islam is really like without living for a considerable period in Moslem countries, and this not in cities only but in villages, not among the settled people but also among nomads; and without considering the beliefs and manners of various classes of society, and of various nations—Arab, Persian, Turkish, and Egyptian. Islam is no more united than is Christendom, and the differences of belief which distinguish classes and nations in Europe are, perhaps, less extreme than those which divide men in Moslem countries. With every wish to be fair to Moslems, we must yet beware of over-stating their virtues, and of under-estimating those of more civilized peoples. The teaching of the Korân must be weighed against the teaching of the Gospel, and the deeds of Moslems compared with those of Christians. Above all, we must beware of receiving without suspicion the representations of men who are not held in esteem by the more strict followers of Muhammad, and whose European education often results in their having no real religion of any kind. It may be interesting, therefore, to consider in detail the actual condition of society in Moslem countries.

Such an enquiry includes on the one hand that concerning the religious beliefs of various classes, and on the other that concerning their ethics and morality. The first is to a great extent a question of class, and the second a question of race. Yet in all cases the Moslem belief differs according to the country studied, and morality also depends in some degree on social position and education.

In no Asiatic country do we find the Moslem religion to be exactly that of the Korân. Among the peasantry it is but a thin veneer, covering the survival of more ancient superstition. Among the more educated, Persian, Hindu and Buddhist ideas, Greek philosophy and modern agnosticism—all equally unknown to the Prophet—have deeply affected the orthodoxy of even those who profess respect for religion. Muhammad himself was influenced by contemporary beliefs—Jewish and Christian—to so great an extent that, in reading the Korân, we fail to find anything original save that which is negative. In early youth he had travelled throughout Syria, and found it full of Greek and Jacobite Christians. At Bozrah, at Damascus, and further north, he saw around him the gorgeous display of Byzantine Christianity, which was the received faith of the many, though Paganism—Greek and Arab—had still its votaries in remote corners. He found bishops living as princes, and treated almost as divine persons. He saw cathedrals, churches, and monasteries, monks, nuns and hermits. It is often forgotten, in considering his knowledge of Christianity, that he did not depend on the reports of stray Christians in Arabia, or on the teaching of his Coptic slave-wife, Maria; but that he had actual knowledge of the life and rites of Christians, in the Holy Land, under the Christian Emperors of Byzantium.

The statements concerning Christianity, in the Korân, are in no case so definite as to suggest that Muhammad had read any gospel or epistle. They are often based on the apocryphal gospels, which were so popular from the 4th century downwards, on the teaching of sects like the Marcionites, Collyridians, and others who early spread Gnosticism in Arabia, and perhaps on that of the Abyssinian and Coptic Christians, who had their churches at Sanâ and Aden. Muhammad specially refutes the ancient teach-

ing of Cerinthus, to which Clement of Alexandria inclined, which denied a human body to Christ. But his account of the birth of Jesus recalls the legend of Buddha, and the Arab 'Gospel of the Infancy.' The Suras which relate to such subjects, seem rather to represent the memory of conversations with Christians, than the results of reading or of doctrinal instruction; and Muhammad prided himself always on being an 'unlearned prophet,' whose verses were not taught to him by men or books, but inspired from on high.

As a trader, in charge of the merchandise of Khadijah, he also, no doubt, came into close contact with the Jewish merchants, who were numerous in Northern Arabia, and who were settled in all the Syrian cities. It has often been pointed out that the legends of the Korân are in great measure based on those of the later Jews, found especially in the Babylonian Talmud. Muhammad had no doubt a Jewish wife—Rihânah; but his repetition of stories concerning Pharaoh, Joseph, Moses, Abraham, Solomon, and Ezra, reads like the echo of conversations with Jews, who were more deeply versed in the legendary lore of their race than any Jewish woman is likely to have been.

The influence of the Persian religion on Muhammad himself was small, though it became important in the later history of Islam. The Prophet predicted the triumph of the Greeks, at a time when the Koreish, at Mecca, were rejoicing in the victories of the fire worshippers. He knew of the Magians, their rites and their legendary tales. The Houris of his paradise no doubt recall the Hurani Behisht of the Persians, and the Apsaras of India—nymphs of the Zoroastrian and Hindu Paradises; but the Korân generally shews little mark of Persian influence, and Muhammad never himself travelled in Persia.

There was yet another religious system existing at this time, and destined to affect profoundly the philosophy of Islam. When the Chinese monk, Huién Tsiang, set out for India, in 630 A.D., he found the Buddhists powerful in both Eastern and Western Turkestan, as well as over all northern India. The Buddhist missionaries seem to have reached Persia yet earlier, for in the Fravardin Yast (i., 16) the pious Zoroastrian is warned against 'Gaotema the Heretic,' whose disciples had penetrated to the

western part of Iran as early (according to Darmesteter) as the 2nd century. A.D. In the Korân itself we do not however find any indication of Buddhist influence.

The Suras when arranged in their historical order witness the growth of Muhammad's teaching, coinciding with the increase of his power. His earliest verses (including the *Fathah*) were admired by the Meccans for their poetic vigour, and contained no definite expression of belief. Muhammad had long been known among the Meccans as an upright man, a prosperous trader, and an Arab of good birth, who observed the annual fast, and the rites of the Pagan Kaaba. He bade them be thankful for their caravan trade, but to remember the judgment to come on those who love the goods of the world (Suras, c. and cvi.) He recalled the defeat of the Abyssinians in the year of his own birth (cv.) and the judgment on tribes that had rejected former teachers (LXXXIX). He exhorted to charity (xc.) and depicted in vivid imagery the terrors of Hell. Gradually—or perhaps suddenly after his retreat to the Cave of Hira in his fortieth year—the idea of a mission to destroy idolatry came upon him; and the descriptions of Judgment and Resurrection are mingled with the denunciation of the infanticide which was then an Arab sacred rite (LXXXI). Down to the time of Khadijah's death, before the *Hejrah* or 'flight,' the character of the Suras remains little changed, though they gradually increase in length. The denunciation of paganism became bolder; and the admiration of the Koreish was changed to bitter hatred, while the faithful few increased in numbers and in devotion. The unity of God is upheld (XXXIX.) and many illustrations are borrowed from Arab tradition. The Korân is announced to be only a confirmation of ancient messages to man, given in the Arab tongue (XLI.), and Jewish stories of Noah, David, and others appear (LIV., XXXIV.), some of which passages are the most poetic in the Suras. But contemporary events also are noticed, such as the defeat of the Greeks by the Persians (xxx.), and the maritime trade of Arabia (XLV.)

Muhammad's enemies denounced him as a madman, a sooth-sayer, a mere poet, or an impostor (LII.), but he continued to preach against the established idolatry. He found confirmation

of his mission in Jewish belief—founded on the words of Haggai (II., 8), identifying himself with the expected *Hemdah* or 'desire of nations' (Sura, XXVI.); and he remained firm in his trust that, though then called a liar, he would in the end be received as a messenger of God. But the Meccans asked each other, 'Shall we leave our gods for a mad poet' (XXXVII.) Muhammad himself never questioned the existence of jinns and spirits, or the duty of pilgrimage to Mecca. He aimed only at reforming the degraded morals of his fellow countrymen, and at restraining their cruelty. As a man who had travelled and observed the manners of more civilised peoples he was far above the comprehension of those to whom the outer world was unknown.

In the two years preceding the Hejirah the most important of the Suras were composed. These include the stories borrowed from Jewish and Christian tradition, with the more vivid descriptions of Heaven and Hell, Resurrection and Judgment. But Muhammad still speaks only as a 'warner,' repeating ancient teachings, and as a mortal man (XVIII.), though inspired by God (XLII). The Meccans called his teaching of humanity and humility 'old wives' tales,' (XXXVIII.), and spoke of Allah as a 'new god,' (XXV.); they demanded a sign, and Muhammad answered that the Suras were themselves signs of his inspiration (XI). The older term, *Hanif*, or 'enquirer,' now changes to that of *Muslim*, 'or obedient one,' (VI.), and the Korân is described as the fulfilment of that teaching which Jews and Christians had perverted by human additions. The inculcation of justice, mercy, and morality became more detailed, and the exhortation not to let wealth and children distract their possessor from the service of God (LXIV.) The rich are reproved for their treatment of slaves (XVI.), and Muhammad denies that he has either been helped by others to compose the Suras, or that he is himself able to read books (XXIX).

The last twenty Suras were published at Medinah, after the flight from Mecca. In these the denunciation of Christians and Jews takes the place of the earlier denunciations of the Koreish idolaters. The verses now refer to Moslem victories, and include regulations for the guidance of the Moslem armies. The worst

foes of the faithful are said to be the Jews, and those nearest to Moslems in belief the Christians (v.) Wine and gambling are forbidden, and superstitious customs. The triumph of Islam is foreseen, and the union of all Arabia, which crowned the Prophet's great struggle, in the last years of his life. If there is nothing new in the Korân, beyond the rejection of Christian teaching concerning Christ, there is at least nothing in its morality that is unacceptable. The destruction of Paganism was effected by the courage and patience of one man, and the teaching of Muhammad would generally now be regarded as superior to the superstitions of the decaying Church of Byzantium, though in many particulars the Prophet never entirely escaped from the influence of early habit and education. He never conceived a condition of society in which there should be no slaves, in which men should have but one wife, in which women should be educated, free, and equal with their husbands, and in which pilgrimage, sacrifice, and the rites of the Kaabah, should cease. If his earlier descriptions of Paradise are tinged with sensual or sensuous colouring, those of later years are much less so coloured. In one of the latest Meccan Suras (xiii. 23-24) Heaven is thus described :—

‘Unto which they shall enter, together with the just among their fathers, and their wives, and their offspring. And the angels shall come to them at all the gates, saying “Peace be upon you, because ye have endured all things.”’

Immediately after Muhammad's death followed the Conquest of Persia and of Syria; and the wild Arabs came under the influence of ancient civilisation. The struggle between the partizans of Ali, and the Khalifs accepted in Arabia and in the West, was political rather than religious in its character; but the beliefs of the Persian Moslems, who adhered to the unfortunate children of Ali—the grandsons of the Prophet, Hasan and Hosein—were coloured by the survival of the ancient Zoroastrian creed, which had so recently been abolished; and many of their tenets are clearly founded on this influence. The legendary mountain Kâf, which surrounds the world beyond the ocean, was the Persian Sacred Mountain; the Imams, or reincarnations of deity, recall the Persian reincarnations of the Divine Spirit in historical or

legendary heroes. The eschatology of Islam resembles, in most of its details, that to be found in the Pehlevi Scriptures, which describe the creation and the end of the world; and these teachings in turn were based on the older Assyrian mythology. The annual mourning for Hasan and Hosein, which distinguishes the Shiah or Persian 'Schismatics' of our own time from the masses of Islam who are Sunnees, is but a survival of the old Babylonian mourning for Tammuz, which was so long preserved in Chaldea among heretical Christians.

But the educated Arabs of the ninth century, during the days of the great Abbaside Khalifs, came under very different influences. They became acquainted with the philosophy of Plato and Aristotle, which at one time threatened entirely to overthrow Moslem belief, and with arts and sciences unknown in Arabia. The secret sects which became numerous were often at heart sceptical, though to the lower initiates they appeared to teach mystery, and to claim inspiration. The dervish candidate believes that his chief can impart the power of performing miracles, but the chiefs themselves regard the order as a political rather than a religious power. The founder of the famous order of assassins (*Hashshâshîn* or 'hemp smokers') was a close friend of Omar Khiyam, the famous sceptical poet. El Ghazzali, the last of the Moslem philosophers, was only saved from scepticism by taking refuge in the mysticism of the Sufis.

The Sufis or 'Sophists,' though taking their name from the Greek, were Moslems under Buddhist influence. The terminology of their teaching, no less than its general result, is evidence of this connection. Religions, the Sufi holds, are matters of indifference, and the final aim is absorption into deity. So also the Buddhists (rather than the Buddha) taught. The perfect man seeks good words, good deeds, good principles, and knowledge. This is the Buddhist 'path.' The Pantheism of the Sufi is the Pantheism of the Hindu; and like the Buddhist the Sufi believes that the things of this world are 'illusion.' One of the most beautiful of Sufi parables runs thus:—

'One knocked at the door of the Beloved, and a voice from within asked, "Who is there?" Then he answered, "It is I." And the voice said, "This house may not hold Me and thee." So the door was shut.

Then the lover sped to the desert, and fasted and prayed alone. And after a year he came again and knocked at the door, and the voice again asked, "Who is there?" And the lover said, "It is Thou," and the door was open.'

When Islam spread to India the poetry and the philosophy of the Hindu reacted on his conqueror, as Barth has observed (*Religions of India*, p. 289), in a remarkable manner. The superstitions of Indian Moslems are indigenous, and the mixture of the two creeds finds its fullest expression in the religion of the Sikhs, and in the Granth. When Islam spread among the tribes of Turkestan, and in Mongolia, where Animism, Buddhism, and Christianity, were struggling for mastery, it was equally modified by other beliefs, and by racial characteristics. The Tartars were wild and warlike, delighting in the chase, in the wild legends of the desert, and in wine and song. The stern morality of Muhammad had little influence on their customs, and the profession of the new faith was but a superficial formalism. In Persia, the new subjects of the Khalif were mainly Aryans and Turks. An ancient civilization, superior to any in Arabia, held its ground against the conqueror. The Persian also delighted in wine, and in poetry. The life of the dwellers in the fresh mountain climate was joyous and indolent. The legends of Rustem and Isfendiari, which some of the Meccans even had preferred to the Suras of Muhammad, continued to form the national literature, which Ferdausi collected in his epic—the Shah Nameh—towards the close of the tenth century, in the great age of the Abbaside Khalifs. All these types of Moslem society differed entirely from the manners of Muhammad or of Omar, as their beliefs also differed from the orthodoxy of Arabia.

In the 13th century, the Turkish Sultans of Iconium, though professing Islam, were so broadly philosophical in their views, that the Popes long hoped to convert them to Christian teaching. We possess in the travels of Sir Bertrandon de la Brocquière—the bold Burgundian knight who journeyed, in 1432 A.D., across Asia Minor and through Turkey—an interesting account of Turkish manners, twenty years before the capture of Constantinople, which shews us that the Osmanlis of the 15th century were much like those of our own times, and very unlike the true Moslem as

intended by Muhammad. They accepted Islam only in as far as its dogmas agreed with their own racial customs and character.

Sir Bertrandon describes the Turkish Sultan of Iconium, and the government of the Turks in Asia. The family of Murad II. was no longer purely Turkish in blood. Greek, Georgian, and Armenian wives, who were Christians, had already borne heirs to the Osmanli. The knight asserts that the ruler of Iconium, and his son, had been 'baptised in the Greek manner to take off the bad smell, and I was told that the son's mother was a Christian. It is thus that all the grandees get themselves baptised, that they may not stink.' It is remarkable that this belief, which dates back to the twelfth century, still survives in Syria, where the Christians now say that Moslems have a naturally evil odour, which disappears when they are baptised.

Muhammad forbade the faithful to retaliate for injury done, and denounced cruelty and injustice; but of this Sultan of Iconium we read in the foregoing account: 'He is well obeyed by his subjects, although I have heard people say he was very cruel, and that few days passed without some noses, feet, or hands being cut off, or some one put to death. Should a man be rich, he condemns him to die, that he may seize his fortune; and it is said that the greater part of his nobles have thus perished. Eight days before my arrival he had caused one to be torn to pieces by dogs. Two days after this execution he caused one of his wives to be put to death, even the mother of his eldest son, who, when I saw him, knew nothing of the murder. The inhabitants of the country are a bad race—thieves, cheats, and great assassins—they kill each other; and justice is so relaxed, that they are never arrested for it.' This is by no means the account of a prejudiced witness, for the same writer testifies to the honesty and kindness of other Moslems who befriended him. In Europe, though Constantinople still held out, Turkey, Bosnia, Servia, Bulgaria, Hungary and other provinces were already subject to the 'Grand Turk,' Murad II., whom Sir Bertrandon saw at Adrianople. His vices were those which still disgrace Orientals, and when reproved by a Moor for his constant drunkenness, because 'wine was forbidden by the Prophet, and those who drank it were not good Saracens,' the Sultan imprisoned and banished

his courageous mentor. Islam, which reached the zenith of its power and civilization under the Arab Khalifs of Damascus and Baghdad, had already begun to decay before the Crusades, after the Seljuk Conquest; and after the Mongol invasion of Western Asia, the increasing power of the Osmanlis yet further discouraged the advance of Arab culture. The most that can be said of the early Sultans, and of their courtiers, is that they were distinguished for the same courtesy of manner, and royal munificence, which still distinguish the Turks. The justice, mercy and sobriety inculcated by Muhammad, have never been common among them.

Such being the brief outline of the well known history of Moslem religion and civilization, we may enquire more fully into the standards of belief and action observable among Moslems of the present day, in Persia, Syria, Egypt, and Turkey; distinguishing the various social grades, from the nomad Arab and agricultural peasant to the merchant, the religious, and the political classes. Good, bad and indifferent are to be found among all, but the standard of conduct is rarely high, and very rarely in accord with the true teaching of the Korân.

In Persia, the population is mainly Aryan—Iranian—with some infusion of Armenians, Jews, Turks and Arabs; and just as the Persian language has been infused with many Arab words, while retaining its own grammar and vocabulary derived from the ancient speech, so Islam has been engrafted on a people who have never quite forgotten their ancient national beliefs, and who have refused to abandon their earlier customs. Among Persians, of the middle class there are many devout Moslems, though their beliefs are not those of the majority in Islam. The upper class is often openly infidel; and infidel literature—especially poetry—circulates unchecked, while European education (of French origin especially) is diffused among the higher officials. The dervishes are disliked and despised, though treated with respect in public. The Mullahs or Mosque scholars are reported to be hypocritical; and are very often sceptics at heart. The cruelties perpetrated in the name of justice are often barbarous in the extreme. The Jews are persecuted. The dirty and drunken Armenians of the North are only protected by European influ-

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ence. The Persians are a pleasure loving people, and the morality of the towns is bad. Intrigues are common among married women, and secret poisoning is the result. Gambling and card-playing, though discountenanced by the respectable classes, are as common as drinking, and even Mullahs drink wine when it can be secretly obtained. The persecution of the Babi's was perhaps mainly due to their attempt on the life of the Shah, but even descendants of the Prophet were put to death and their property seized when they were known to be followers of the Bâb. On the other hand, no punishment falls on such as profess philosophic scepticism, and the turban is often discarded by Persian Moslems in favour of the older national head-dress, without reproof. Superstitions are rife among the lower classes, hands and charms and amulets are worn to ward off the evil eye. Spells are sold against disease, and auguries are taken at the Tomb of Hafiz by the same people who strictly observe the great feast of Ramadân, and who mourn the death of Hosein.

Arabia alone has produced a sect aiming at the reformation of Islam, and at a return to the strict teaching of the Korân, but the yoke of the Wahhâbis was too heavy to be borne by Moslems. Muhammad Ibn 'Abd el Wahhâb was born in the Nejed in 1691, A.D., and brought up in the tenets of the Hanbali sect. His disgust with contemporary teachings and beliefs led him to discard all that was not found in the Korân, and in the traditions of the companions of the Prophet. He denounced the worship of Weli's, Pir's, and other Moslem Saints, the belief in omens, auguries, and charms, the drinking of wine and the smoking of tobacco, the wearing of silks and satins, the use of opium. He was a Moslem Protestant whose idea was the simplicity of the original faith, and the Islam of the days of Omar. The conquests of his son, 'Abd el 'Aziz, extended over the whole of Arabia, and his grandson, Saud, marched to Kerbela (the sacred city of Persia), where a general massacre of the unorthodox took place. In 1808, Saud entered Mecca, and made a holocaust of pipes, amulets, and rosaries, silks and satins. The Moslems were driven with whips to the Mosques, and at Medinah even Muhammad's tomb was spoiled. But ten years later Muhammad Ali defeated the Wahhâbis, and Abdallah, son of Saud, was executed at Constan-

tinople in 1818. Thus, through political exigences, the Turks stamped out the only serious effort ever made to reform Islam in accordance with the Korân. The Wakhâbis remained powerful in Eastern Arabia, and in 1822 they attempted to unite Northern India and Central Asia under the teaching of the *Sirat el Mustakim*, or 'right way,' but were defeated and dispersed by the English forty years later. They are now a decaying sect in the Nejed and Shammar regions; and the western regions of Syria, Turkey, and Egypt, never came under the influence of these austere followers of the original orthodoxy of Islam.

If we turn to Africa, we no doubt find in Cairo a very famous Moslem College at the Azhar Mosque, and a people outwardly orthodox Moslems of the Maleki sect; but the superstitions of the peasantry trace back to the old Egyptian religion, and their women still visit the temple of Athor at Denderah, while the upper classes are so permeated by western civilisation that real Moslem belief is confined to the religious classes connected with the Mosques. In the wilder regions of the Soudan and the Congo Islam is deeply impregnated with African Paganism, and the rites of the *Sadakah*, which respectable Moslem merchants perform when entering wild regions, have little connection with Moslem teaching. The movement led by the Mahdi had its origin in discontent under oppression, and its aim was the preservation of the slave trade. No doubt fanaticism was excited among those who expected the Nile to divide its waters before them, and who charged the English when they thought themselves made invulnerable by the scraps of the Korân rolled up in their leather charms; but it was a fanaticism of the most ignorant and superstitious character, and the aims of the leaders were temporal rather than religious.

In Turkey again, the profession of Islam—after the Hanifeh or or High Church School—does not affect the manners of either the highest or the lowest classes. A half Armenian Sultan, under the influence of the dervishes who surround him, has attempted to enforce strict observance of the hours of prayer. Among the sturdy peasantry whose honesty contrasts with the greed of Armenians and the craft of the Greeks, the ancient superstitious of their Tartar ancestors still survive; among the courtiers and

soldiers there are no doubt sincerely religious and honest men, but the majority openly discard their creed and prefer a scepticism borrowed from the West, which excuses them in their own eyes for breaking the Moslem law, in drinking wine, in gambling, and in yet more pernicious vices.

It is perhaps in Syria that Modern Islam may best be studied in all its phases in a country which ranks next after the Hejaz as a Sacred Land of the Moslems, where the population is mainly Arab—or at least Semitic—and where the first great Khalifs established their sway at Damascus in the early days of ever growing conquest. In the Syrian deserts still are found pure Arab tribes who come from the Nejed or the Hejaz, and who preserve the manners of the nomadic Arabs whose submission was won with such difficulty by the Prophet. His own early followers were merchants, townsmen, and Koreish of noble birth, but among the nomads who swelled the hosts of Omar, Islam was but skin deep, and the ancient superstitions were never rooted out. They remain the real belief of the Bedouin even to the present day.

Among these nomads hardly more than one or two in a tribe can read or write or are ever seen to pray. There are no dervishes among them, the call to prayer never rises in the desert, there is no fanatical feeling, and there is no knowledge of Moslem teaching. The tribesmen fear the jinns and ghouls who are supposed to haunt dolmens, and caves; they venerate sacred footprints; they visit the tombs of ancestors or of legendary saints. They leave small offerings at such tombs, or pile up stones to record a visit; they invoke the dead and the *neby* or 'prophet;' they tie rags to sacred trees; they celebrate the yearly feast when the Hâj reaches Mecca; and conduct the pilgrims for a stated tribute; but their belief is an animism older than history itself; and they delight—not in the Suras of the Korân—but in the wild fairy tales of Zir and Antar, which the old men relate and hand down with ever increasing marvellous details. It is vain to seek for Islam among the Bedouin.

The Fellahin or ploughmen in the settled regions are equally ignorant and superstitious. They live surrounded by miracles of daily occurrence, and they preserve superstitions which trace

back to Canaanite times. The sacred mountain, the sacred tree, and the sacred spring, are the emblems of the peasant creed. Their worship is that of the *Mukâm* or 'standing place' of some saint or prophet, whose power is local and limited, but whose wrath is none the less dreaded. Some of these shrines are ancient Christian chapels of St. George, St. Paul, St. Matthew, or some other Christian Saint, mentioned as existing (in Pilgrim diaries) in the 12th or even in the seventh century of our era. Such shrines Muhammad is recorded to have condemned in his dying words when denouncing Abyssinian Christians to his wives:—

"These truly," he said, "are a people who, when a good man has lived among them, build over his tomb a place of worship, and they adorn it with their pictures. These, in the eyes of the Lord, are the worst part of His creation. The Lord destroy Jews and Christians. Let His anger be kindled against those who turn the tombs of their prophets into places of worship. O Lord, let not my tomb be worshipped. Let there not remain any faith but that of Islam throughout Arabia."

Islam triumphed more widely than Muhammad foresaw, yet his tomb has become one of the most sacred sites where Moslems worship, and the cultus of the *Makams* is spread from Central Asia to Morocco wherever Islam prevails.

Mingled with such beliefs are the superstitions common to the ignorant throughout the world. The *Fellahîn* live in fear of ghosts, ghouls, spirits, jinns, goblins and fairies. They all wear amulets against the evil eye—scraps of writing in leather cases; they hang eggs and blue beads on their house walls, and offer bread and coins at their sacred springs. They believe in transmigration, in sacred fishes at Acre and Tripoli which left their ponds to fight for the Sultan against the Russians; in dervishes transformed to falcons flying to the battle, and in every species of augury and magic. Many birds are sacred among them, such as the dove, the owl, the hoopoo and the lark, and many beasts—especially horses—are believed to be able to predict the future by their actions. It was against such superstition that the *Wahhâbî's* protested, as Muhammad himself protested against a more cruel idolatry. But the peasantry are pagans still. There are no mosques in the villages, and many do not even know the *Fathah*. Orthodox religion is regarded as the religion of the

well born. Mosques and devout congregations are found only in cities and towns. The legends of the Korân are indeed localised in such sites as 'the Valley of Ants,' 'the City of the Grove,' 'the place where Neby Saleh's camel was killed,'—referring to stories in the Korân quite unconnected with Syria. But the peasantry as a rule do not know the legend to which such names refer. Even in the Haram at Jerusalem superstitious customs survived down to 1881 (when they were abolished) in the squeezing between the pillars of El Aksa, and in the sacred stone to touch which blindfold secured an entry into Paradise.

Among such peasants the dervishes have great power, being regarded as 'men of God,' able to work miracles and to foretell the future. They are of various orders, founded in the thirteenth and in subsequent centuries, and distinguished by the colour of their turbans and banners—such as the Bedawiyeh from Egypt, the Rifâiyeh who charm serpents, the Kadriyeh, and the dancing Moulawiyeh, but it is only the lower initiates who are familiarly known to the Fellahin. A good dervish is instructed to be obedient, chaste, poor, and pious, to restrain his temper and his passions, never to hurt anything that has life, and not to delight in war. Some strive to observe such teaching, but many are hypocrites and immoral, and some are fanatics, fully believing in their supernatural powers, or madmen who live in a world of dreams. Their snakes are usually not venomous, but some have died from handling snakes whose bite is mortal. Among the most respectable are the dancers, who celebrate their strange and ancient rite in their monastery near Tripoli. The howling dervishes, who work themselves into a cateleptic condition by the senseless repetition of the syllable *Hu*, in their well-known meetings, are among the most fanatical.

The leaders of these orders may be respectable merchants—often married men, for dervishes are not bound to celibacy—or mullahs from the mosque, or men of high birth. They may be orthodox Moslems, or secret sceptics, philosophers or hypocrites, or Sufis devoted to their mystic contemplation, and discarding all religions as vain. It depends on the individual character and belief of the man who attains to such a position, and he is by no means of necessity debarred from following a secular calling be-

cause he is a dervish leader. The power of the orders is very great, and very little appreciated in the West ; for on the one hand the dervish influences the policy even of the Sultan, and is respected by the Turkish Governor, and on the other he holds the peasantry in his power, through his supposed miraculous knowledge. Yet the dervish system is not a product of Islam, but rather derived from Bactria, Persia, and India ; and such pretenders were denounced by Muhammad as *Kahins* or 'diviners.' The dervish, wandering among the villages, preceded by music and bearing his banner, comes into contact with the people much more closely than the orthodox scholar, who lives in a city and frequents the mosque. But it is superstition and not religion that he maintains. He is often a reader or reciter of the Korân, but his power lies in his supposed miracles, of which endless stories are related.

The ignorance and immorality of the peasantry exceeds that of most European countries. They cannot read or write, they know nothing beyond the rude agriculture, which has remained unchanged for thousands of years, or the rearing of flocks and herds, sheep, goats, cows, donkeys and camels. They are for the most part inoffensive, the old turbulent spirit having been utterly broken by Turkish oppression ; and their virtues are mainly observable in kindness to children, reverence for age, a dignity of manner peculiar to the East, and a very strong sense of mutual help and of the sanctity of trust. On the other hand they are dirty, foul-mouthed, and sometimes obscene. Their language is a continual curse, and they are never ashamed to be found out when they lie. Some, no doubt, are much worse than others, and some are honest and devout. Oriental custom imposes great modesty of bearing on the women, but the immorality of the wives is notorious. The lepers are often go-betweens in such intrigues ; and the punishment of the false wife is savage—she is usually thrown into a pit or well, or secretly poisoned. The disputes of wives living in one house are continual, but polygamy is comparatively rare among the peasantry, because a man cannot often afford to keep more than one wife. Although the Moslem is charitable to the poor, any idea of instructing them or of improving their condition is unthought of, and the misery of the oppressed and neglected Fellahin is increased by the conscription

which tears away the young men from their homes to serve in distant parts of the Turkish Empire. The life of the soldiers is wretched, they are unpaid and cheated, and fortunate if they are able to find their way home at length at their own expense. The brutal immorality and degradation of their garrison life robs the army of a large proportion of its recruits. They are often obliged to live by their own industry, to make fires by burning the woodwork of their barracks, and to obtain some small proportion of their pay by mutiny. Yet such armies have fought with obstinate courage for Islam against the Christian, and they maintain the power of the Sultan over many alien races.

Even among the peasantry the great feast of Ramadan—which was an Arab practice long before Muhammad—is very generally and very rigorously observed, but orthodox belief is for the most part confined to the middle class—that of respectable merchants and mechanics, and to the native gentry and Mosque families, of whom the European rarely sees much. Men who trace their descent from the noble Arabs of Omar's time, and who are proud to remember how their ancestors conquered not only Syria, but half Asia and all North Africa, are often scrupulous in their religious observances, and versed in the Korân and in the teachings of the great Moslem doctors. They accept their religion without doubt or enquiry, and are seen daily at the Mosque, and learn the Korân from childhood, yet even in this class there are unbelievers and sceptics, and men who secretly break the laws of their creed. The Kadis are notoriously corrupt, and generally receive bribes for their judgments; and wine is often drunk by those who are most outwardly pious. Hypocrites are not less numerous in the East than in the West, and honest scepticism is perhaps not less common. The Mullahs, on the other hand—especially at the Sanctuaries of Hebron, Jerusalem and Damascus, Acre and Tripoli—are sometimes really fanatical, and look forward to the coming of the true Mahdi and the destruction of the infidel; but the proportion of religious enthusiasts to moderate men, and to men of politics and of the world, is perhaps not greater among Moslems than in Europe. There is as much immorality, though less openly to be observed. For when we

consider that a city like Cairo has its quarter for licensed public women; that unveiled prostitutes may be seen walking the streets of Damascus by day who are by profession Muslimahs; and that the dancing women and Almehs are allowed to perform at festivals given by young Moslems of good position and family, we cannot regard the professors of Islam as superior in their conduct to the Westerns. The intrigues of the harim and the vices of the rich are more brutal perhaps than any known in the West. The education of the upper classes is far inferior, and slavery, though publicly denied to exist, is well known to be still customary in all Moslem countries. The slave markets of Damascus and of Jerusalem are hidden in corners behind the Mosques, and are known to few Europeans; but white women as well as negroes and negresses may here be seen awaiting sale, by anyone who has the means of penetrating into these secret markets.

The European rarely sees the best of Moslem society. He easily makes acquaintance with the official class—the man who has learned in Paris or in Constantinople to despise his religion and to ape the manners of the West—but he is as a rule debarred from entering the select circle of true Moslems of good birth and education, and he knows nothing of their estimate of civilisation. The Prophet warned his followers not to make friendships with Christians, and the manners of the tourist class are often repulsive to the Moslem gentleman. Those who have won admittance into such circles are charmed with the dignity, the courtesy, and the simplicity of the eastern manner, with the beauty of the ancient (and often half-ruinous) houses where poor proud gentlemen hide from the world, with the unaffected piety and sobriety of life which distinguishes the best, with the taste and absolute cleanliness of dress and person, with the modesty of family life, and the respect for age and rank. But such life and manners distinguish the few, and belong to a class of men who, however respected, have little influence on either the peasantry or the ruling class. Even among these the most absurd superstitions are common, and education does not often go further than reading, writing and arithmetic.

The official class is for the most part not Arab at all. The Pashas are sometimes pure Turks, distinguished for their good breeding and force of character: mostly they are of mixed race, their mothers being Georgians, Armenians, Greeks, Europeans, or slaves of various lower races. It is unnecessary to say that the majority of these are unscrupulous and corrupt men, utterly irreligious, and a curse to their country. It is only the strong and increasing influence of Western civilisation which at all holds in check a class which, as a whole, is cruel, greedy, and utterly selfish.

These are the facts of modern Moslem social life, well known to all who have lived for any length of time in Moslem countries. The attempt to represent Moslems as more truly actuated by respect for their religion than are Christians in civilized countries, or as being in any respect superior to Europeans, seems to those who are familiar with actual conditions to be due, either to imperfect knowledge, or to the curious perversity which depreciates one's own countrymen and extols the less known foreigner. We must measure religious standards by comparison of sacred books, and in such comparison few would prefer the Korân to the Gospel. We must measure actual performance by comparison of the social progress of nations, and few would argue that such progress has been more remarkable in Moslem than in Christian lands.

If we consider the particulars of justice, charity, truth, freedom, morality, and human sympathy, we must surely conclude that the Moslem creed has not done much to raise the standard of society in Asia or in Africa. The fascination of the East, and of the desert, has been felt by many men of high culture and sensitive taste, but the darker side of the picture is revealed by more familiar acquaintance with Oriental life. Justice (which distinguished the great men of former times, Muhammad, Omar, Harûn er Rashîd, and Genghiz Khan) is for the most part unknown in the Turkish Empire. The peasantry are oppressed and ruined; the Pashas are squeezed of their ill gotten gains; the Kadis sell justice, and the rulers all take bribes. The baksheesh system is the great evil against which we still are striving in Egypt. As regards charity, the

pious Moslem gives to the poor, and leaves doles for dogs and cats. He even has a cup cut in his tombstone, that thirsty birds may drink water on his grave. But where in the East do we find the organisation of effort to raise the condition of the masses, to educate and train and usefully employ the lowest class, which are found in almost every European country? As regards truth, the European is perhaps often as deceitful and treacherous as the Oriental, but he is at least ashamed to be called a liar, and the Eastern is not. Respecting morality, the conversation of Pashas is such as would not be tolerated by costers in England, and the vices of the East are at least as black as those of the West. As respects freedom, the condition of women is one main cause of the decay of Asiatic civilisation. They have indeed much more freedom than is commonly imagined, but their purposeless and idle lives are passed contentedly in a condition of utter ignorance, and their degradation reacts on their children. Slavery is recognised by the Korân as a natural condition, though rich men are exhorted to treat their slaves with kindness—as many Arab and Persian masters habitually do. The slavery of Asia is not merely domestic, for the ranks of eunuchs and servants are still constantly filled with negroes brought from Arabia. All the edicts published have had no practical result in changing the ancient custom which the Moslem religion allows. Lastly, as concerns humane feelings, the standard of a religion which inculcates the *Jihâd*, or war on infidels, as a duty, is not the standard of the Gospel. Islam is spread with the sword, and its last word is 'Testify or die.' If horror of war and of violence is taught by Sufis, it is not from Muhammad but from the Aryan Buddha, or from the Christian teachers of the Abbasside age, that this nobler teaching was derived.

These pages have been suggested by reading recent papers in which Islam is extolled at the expense of European civilisation, written by travellers who have not had any long or intimate acquaintance with Moslem countries: they may very probably have little influence on general opinion, but it may not the less be useful to direct attention to the actual condition of Islam, and to the slight influence of their own creed on

Moslems. The outward appearance is often very different from the real belief and conduct, in the East as it is in the West. Those who have grown up in the ancient prejudices of the eighteenth century concerning Moslems, may no doubt be surprised by the contrast with facts when they first read the Korân, or first visit the East; but further acquaintance with Islam always serves to dispel the charm of first impressions; and that which is highest and best is to be found, if we seek it, at home, and is not as a rule to be found in Asia.

C. R. CONDER.

ART. VII.—SCOTLAND AND THE UNIONIST
CAUSE.

IN January, 1886, I examined in the pages of this *Review* the position of the Conservative Cause in Scotland after the General Election of 1885: the imminence of another General Election, and the accumulated experience of eight years, and two contests suggest a further examination of how the Unionist cause stands to-day. The interest and the speculations aroused by the dramatic and pathetic attitude of 'the old man eloquent' with his unrealized ideal, in the closing scenes of his long stretched out career, the frank avowal of party considerations as all important in determining questions of high policy which has signalized the succession of 'the practical Peer,' and the premonitions of impending ministerial collapse tempt enquiry as to the prospects of what will follow after that collapse, in Scotland. In no part of the United Kingdom is there more room for speculation, for none was left in a more uncertain and suggestive condition after the election of 1892. England then recorded a definite judgment which she is likely to affirm in more emphatic terms. Wales (Montgomeryshire being witness) may improve her character, but those who do not know the Principality, cannot venture to prophesy as to her actions. Ireland may stand pretty much as she is. But Scotland is the dark horse of the day. In 1892 the

Unionists lost seats, but they enormously increased their votes. In several places that had been regarded as absolutely hopeless they came within measurable distance of a material, and achieved a moral victory. They proved that the solid phalanx of Scottish Gladstonianism had begun to crumble and drop away.

It is therefore not unprofitable to briefly review the position in Scotland, and to gather up the indications of political movements that have been afforded since the polls closed in 1892. That election proved that Unionism was a growing and not a waning force north of the Tweed: it proved further that the committal of the Gladstonian party to the policy of Disestablishment, avowed in 1890, had not tended to increase its popularity. It showed a general growth of Unionist sentiment: it exhibited a remarkable development of resistance to later Gladstonian policy in the Lothians, and in certain other constituencies. But it left the impression that with harder work and greater hope a good deal more might have been done, and its varied results indicated that an overweening belief in ineradicable and impervious Gladstonianism had prevented the convictions of many on the Church question producing their full and proper effect. In spite of the formal pledging of the party in May, 1890, there remained in 1892 a reluctance to realize, and almost a disbelief on the part of many voters attached by old association to the Liberal party, that Mr. Gladstone really intended Disestablishment. The threatened Suspensory Bill has achieved one result, if nothing more, in the fact that it has dispelled this hallowed hallucination, and acted like the sting of an arrow to make the ostrich raise its head from the sand. It has put the defenders of the Church upon their mettle, and since its introduction—or rather the intimation of the impending introduction that never came—there has been carried out in many parts of Scotland an effective campaign, stimulating the interest of the Scottish people and instructing them more fully than has ever hitherto been done, in the history of the Scottish church, and their own rights in its endowments and its national mission.

Since the General Election the Scottish Conservatives have carefully revised the general scheme of their national organisation. They have done so upon the principle of combining a

compact and manageable central authority, with practical local supervision of the details of organisation. It is easy to exaggerate the influence and effect of changes in central political organisations, for after all, the really important thing is the local organisation in the constituencies. At the same time, the changes made at the Perth Conference of April, 1893—if properly worked, and upon that condition alone—constitute an important forward movement in the popular organisation of the Scottish Conservative party. It is interesting to recall the various steps by which the general party organisation has reached its present form, for they exhibit a continuous advance, and a continually closer touch established with the mass of the electorate. The origin of a central organisation on popular lines was practically contemporaneous with the extension by the Conservative party of the franchise to the working men. The Scottish National Constitutional Association, which was established as a permanent result of Mr. Disraeli's famous visit to Edinburgh in 1867, held its first annual meeting on 17th April, 1868. It consisted mainly of individual subscribers, though its rules contained provisions for any local association being declared to be in connection with the central association, and having the right to send two representatives to its general council, which met twice a year. It maintained a central office, and gave considerable assistance to the local agents and associations. In 1882 a further step was taken by the formation of the Scottish National Union, which was organised on a thoroughly popular basis. Its main feature was the prominence given to the representative element based upon the local associations, and the institution of the large popular annual conferences similar to those of the National Union in England. Its executive work was originally conducted by four honorary secretaries, selected with special reference to their connection with different districts of the county, and the council was constituted on a system of direct election by the conference, and of limited co-optation. In 1885 an important advance was made in the improvement and consolidation of the party machinery, by the amalgamation with the National Union of the older Scottish National Constitutional Association, in order to provide one well

equipped central office, and secure more economical and efficient administration. The good effects of this were experienced in the very large amount of work transacted during the general election of 1885, and even more substantially, though less demonstratively, in the negotiations and arrangements with the Liberal-Unionist party in the fateful spring and summer of 1886. With the aid and upon the basis recommended by the Central Organization, the local organisation of the party throughout the country has been by degrees completely revolutionized, and the 'Mr. Jones and his factor' system superseded by one based upon the parish committees, in which Mr. Jones will retain the legitimate influences to which his personal activity and social position legitimately entitle him, but under which the cause of the party is placed in the hands of all the members of the party. The increasing vitality of the party in Scotland, and the growing interest shewn in its work, are illustrated by the facts, that while in 1883 the National Union included 60 affiliated associations, and 101 associates, and had an income (exclusive of life-members' commutations) of £191, and in 1886, after the consolidation, comprehended 122 associations, 61 vice-presidents, and 333 associates, with an income of £640; in 1893 it included 356 associations, 145 vice-presidents, and 501 associates, with an income of considerably over £2000.

The increasing interest in its work had multiplied the meetings of its council, and led to their being held alternately in Edinburgh and Glasgow. In 1888, a small committee was appointed to meet in Glasgow, and specially supervise the western constituencies, which in the following year was enlarged, and in 1890 a branch office was opened there and placed under its supervision. A large amount of active work was done by this committee, and to its exertions was largely due the substantial increase in the income of the Union of late years. It had long been recognized that an improvement in the constitution of the Central Council was desirable. One quarter of its members being elected by each conference, the vote was liable to result in an undue preponderance of persons being returned from the district where the annual conference happened to be held, and there had been one rather scandalous instance of a 'ticket' being run, according to the ap-

proved methods of Yankee electioneering. It was desired to make the council more representative of all districts of the country, and also to extend the system of local committees, which had been found to work well in the western district. Further, while the comprehensive character of the national organization was shewn by the fact that in 1892 the central association of every Scottish county but one was affiliated to it, this affiliation was contingent on payment of a subscription, and might be broken at any moment. It was thought advisable, following in this the example of England, that every constituency should, through its central association, be brought as a matter of right into direct relations with the central organisation, irrespective of pecuniary conditions.

These views were carried into effect by the new rules adopted at the special conference held at Perth in 1893, and the whole organisation of the Conservative party in Scotland has been developed on a symmetrical and definite plan. The organisation of the Scottish National Union now consists of the President, the Honorary Secretaries and the Honorary Treasurers, who are the officers of the whole Union, of the Central Council which takes a general supervision of the whole country and to which the divisional bodies are responsible, and of six Divisional Councils or Committees, each entrusted with the special supervision of well-defined districts of the country, which are practically at once local Committees of the Central Organization and Joint-Committees of all the constituencies comprised within each division. The work of the whole is reported on to the Annual Conference, consisting of the delegates from each constituency, and from every affiliated local association, and of the individual subscribers to the Union funds. The Central Council consists of a proportional number of representatives to the constituencies in each division who are nominated by the divisional bodies, with the addition of a certain number selected in proportion to the number of subscribers to the Union. The Divisional Councils or Committees consist of members directly elected by the central associations of the constituencies, with the addition of others selected in proportion to the subscribers in the division. The subscriptions of all affiliated associations are paid direct to

the Central office. Where the income contributed by a division is large enough to support a useful branch office, the subscriptions from individuals are collected by the divisional body, which in that case is termed a Divisional Council, and, after remittance of a fixed proportion for Central expenses, applied by the Divisional Council for work within the division. Where the district cannot efficiently maintain and employ a local office and staff, the whole subscriptions are paid direct to the Central office, necessary local expenditure provided for from the Central funds, and the Divisional Committee assisted by the services of the Central staff.

This organisation thus secures a compact Central Council, the fullest local supervision and activity which practical conditions allow, and a system of representation which gives every district and constituency its fair share in the administration of central and divisional affairs. It is liable to two criticisms: First, that the system of double election by the constituency to the divisional body, and by the divisional body to the central council is cumbersome; and second, that there was much to be said for retaining to some extent, while balancing it by local election, the system of direct election at the annual conference which was valued by many of the delegates from affiliated associations. There was much to be said for a simpler system by which each constituency should have returned one person to serve both on the central and divisional body. It would have placed the constituencies in even more direct relation with the headquarters, and it would have obviated several practical disadvantages that have since been felt. But it involved a Central Council of from 72 to 100 persons meeting quarterly or half-yearly, and this was considered too ponderous a body for practical purposes. Yet the result of an amendment carried at the conference was to convert one Divisional body, which meets monthly, into as large and unwieldy an organism. The general scheme embodied a careful compromise of varying views, and having been adopted by the unanimous vote of a large and representative conference, has placed the organisation in Scotland on a permanent and popular basis.

If there is anything in a thoroughly representative and demo-

cratic system of organisation, it is to be anticipated that a healthy spirit of generous rivalry in good works between the various divisions of the country, will give additional impulse to the tide of Unionist success. Now that this system of local supervision and responsibility has been developed, it is appropriate to review the general political history and condition, of each of the six districts of Scotland. The University seats may for present purposes be discarded. The Eastern District Division consists of the counties of Berwickshire, Roxburghshire, Peebles, and Selkirk, the three Lothians, West Fife, and Clackmannan and Kinross; of the four divisions of the city of Edinburgh, and of the groups of the Border, the Leith, the Kirkcaldy, and the Stirling Burghs. It is now under the special supervision of the Eastern Divisional Council of the Union. The following were the votes recorded in the Division at the last three general elections:—In 1885, there were 20,199 Conservative votes to 45,896 Gladstonian; in 1886, 28,154 Unionist votes to 39,520; and in 1892, 41,670 Unionist votes to 56,643 Gladstonian. But in 1885, West Fife, Clackmannan and Kinross, the Border and the Stirling Burghs were uncontested, while in East Edinburgh two Liberals stood against each other whose votes are not counted. For the South Division the figures of the bye-election of January 1886 have been taken, as in 1885 two Liberals stood there. In 1886 Mid-Lothian and West Fife were uncontested. If we take a possible Mid-Lothian vote in 1886, as the mean of the two votes of 1885 and 1892, and West Fife as recorded at the bye-election of 1889, (*i.e.*, L.U., or votes on personal grounds for Mr. Wemyss, 2,758, and G.L., 5,215) the comparison between 1886 and 1892 would be 35,113 Unionist, and 51,597 Gladstonian votes, to 41,670 and 56,643 respectively, thus showing a respective increase of 6,557, as compared with 4,546 votes, being a much larger actual as well as a vast proportional increase. This too gives to the Gladstonians the benefit of Mr. Erskine Wemyss's personal popularity in West Fife. The labour vote of 438 in the Central Division of Edinburgh in 1892 has not been counted. The result in the sixteen seats was that while in 1886 the Unionists held three, in 1892 they were left with two. But before 1886 ended West Edinburgh was lost by the recanta-

tion of Mr. Buchanan, while since 1892 a seat has been gained by the victory in Linlithgowshire. The most remarkable feature of the comparison is the marvellous change that has come over the three Lothians between 1885 and 1892. In 1885 the Conservative vote, *plus* the Irish vote thrown against Mr. Gladstone, though not for the Conservatives, was 6,699, and the Gladstonian, 15,153. In 1892 the Unionist vote was 10,119, the Gladstonian, 11,216. The process so substantially advanced has since been satisfactorily and significantly carried further, for at the bye-election for West Lothian, in June, 1893, Captain Hope in a fourth contest reaped the reward of his unflinching patriotism, and converted his steadily declining minorities into a majority of 169. In the opposite camp a similar development is believed to be anticipated both in East and Mid Lothian, and never had a political party more cause to enter on a struggle with hope, to leave no stone unturned, and to work with unflagging enthusiasm, than the Unionist party has in these three constituencies to-day. Steady work should recover Roxburghshire, and then the influence of its neighbours should act forcibly upon Berwickshire, which has recently shewn that the steady reduction of its Gladstonian majority continues to make substantial progress. More unlikely things have happened than that South Edinburgh should follow the lead of the West Division. More almost than in any part of Scotland the strength of Gladstonian Liberalism has in these constituencies been in the name and personal influence of Mr. Gladstone, and now that Achilles has retired to his tent in search of long deferred and well-worked for repose, his absence must materially accelerate a process which even the magic of his presence proved powerless to check.

The Western District Division consists of the six divisions of Lanarkshire, East and West Renfrew, North and South Ayrshire, Buteshire, Argyleshire, Dumbartonshire, and Stirlingshire; of the seven divisions of Glasgow, Greenock, Paisley, and the groups of the Ayr, Kilmarnock and Falkirk Burghs. These constituencies all lie round, and are in convenient communication with Glasgow, and are now under the special supervision of the Western Divisional Council of the Union. The result of the

polls at the last three general elections in this district showed that while the Conservatives, who were notoriously stronger in this district than in other parts of Scotland, and had the assistance of the large Irish vote of the industrial centres and regions nearest to Ireland, polled 91,981 in 1885, the Unionists, in spite of the Union of Hearts, polled 92,021 in 1886, and 105,427 in 1892. The Gladstonians polled 110,913 votes in 1885, 89,616 in 1886, and 112,194 in 1892. In these figures there have not been included the Labour votes in the Bridgeton and Camlachie divisions of Glasgow and the Falkirk Burghs in 1885, or in the Camlachie, College, and Tradeston divisions, and in Stirlingshire in 1892. These labour votes amounted in 1885 to 2,043, and in 1892 to 2,577. This western district thus gave an absolute majority of votes for the Union in 1886. While it has not continued to do this in 1892, the Gladstonians are only about 1,000 votes better than they were in 1885, while the Unionists have improved upon the Conservative strength by 14,000 votes, without allowance for the transfer of the Irish vote. Out of the 26 constituencies the Conservatives held 7, to 19 in possession of the Liberals in 1885: in 1886 the Unionists had 16 and the Gladstonians 10, and in 1892 the Unionists retained 11, while the Gladstonians carried 15. Among those was the Ayr Burghs, which, lost by the Unionists in 1888, was recovered in 1890, and lost again in 1892 by the very small majority of seven votes. There are three constituencies where the Gladstonian majority is under 100 votes, one more where it is under 200, and one other where it is under 300. These offer every incentive to vigorous attack, and the opportunity of repairing the losses of 1892, and if the increase in voting power has not of late been so remarkable as in the eastern division, there are in the west not a few other constituencies which look at least as hopeful as the Lothians did some years back.

The Tay District Division comprises East Fife, West and East Perthshires, Forfarshire, Dundee (two members), Perth City, and the Montrose and St. Andrews groups of Burghs. In this district in 1885, the Conservatives polled 17,350, and the Gladstonians 35,889 votes, without counting the vote in the St. Andrews burghs, where two Liberals stood against each other. In 1886

and 1892 all the seats were contested. In 1886 the Unionists had 19,677 votes, and the Gladstonians 26,010, and in 1892 their respective strengths were 23,645 and 29,822. The Labour vote of 907, in Perth city, has not been included. In 1885 there was not a single Conservative member; in 1886 there were three Unionists, and in 1892 three, of whom one is a Conservative. Perth city has shewn a bright example of courage and energy, and it is to be hoped that the exertions of the Tay Divisional Committee will still further brighten the political colouring of their portion of the map of Scotland.

The North-Eastern District-Division contains Kincardineshire, the two Aberdeenshires, East and West, Banffshire, Aberdeen city, North and South, and the Elgin District of Burghs, of which the most important town is Peterhead. In this division the Elgin Burghs were uncontested by the Conservatives in 1885, and in 1892 no Unionist stood in Kincardineshire, the contest being between two Gladstonians who differed on the Church question. Placing those two constituencies against each other, we find that the total Conservative votes recorded in 1885 were 10,791, while the Gladstonians polled 28,736. In 1892 the Unionists polled 12,258 (the contest in Banffshire not being a serious one) and the Gladstonians 20,772. The election of 1886 offers no useful data for comparison, as the only seats then fought were the two Aberdeenshires and Banffshire. These three constituencies supply special food for reflection. No incident of the election of 1892 was more encouraging and more instructive than the moral victory in West Aberdeenshire, which only required a transfer of 41 to convert it into a material one. In 1885 the Conservatives had only polled 2,010 votes; the successful Gladstonian had been returned by a vote of 4,248, while 1,530 votes had also been cast for a more extreme candidate. On the smaller poll of 1886, the position was substantially unchanged, the Conservative Unionist polling 1,657, and the Gladstonian 3,854 votes. But 1892 was a revelation. The 2,010 of 1885 had risen to 3,640; the 5,778 had dwindled to 3,720. The Gladstonians were thunderstruck; it might have been said of the genial and popular sitting member, who had been 'saved as by fire,' that he was, if not 'speechless'—

‘Ghastly, wan,
Like him of whom the story ran,
Who saw the spectre hound in man.’

No better example has ever been given of the political virtue which never allows itself to be discouraged by adverse circumstances, and which reaps ultimate triumph, as the Aberdeenshire farmer produces flourishing crops from an unkindly soil. Since Sir Alexander Gordon changed his colours in 1879, no Conservative or Unionist has sat for a constituency in this division. West Aberdeenshire showed an abnormal achievement. East Aberdeenshire and Banffshire are interesting, because they supply illustrations which agree together of normal Unionist progress, under circumstances of no very favourable nature, and it so happens that they afford additional *data*, for in both there has been a bye-election since 1892. The following is their record:—

	1885.	1886.	1892.	Dec., 1892.
East Aberdeenshire.—Gladstonian,	6,509	4,952	5,116	4,243
Conservative or Unionist,	3,155	2,544	3,492	2,917
Majority,	3,354	2,408	1,624	1,326
Banffshire.—Gladstonian,	3,770	2,583	2,293	3,165
Unionist,	2,008	1,394	1,424	2,395
Majority,	1,762	1,189	869	770

It is the fashion to regard the Gladstonianism of the North-Eastern District as ineradicable and impenetrable. But these figures show that this superstition is not beyond cavil. In 1832 these counties were Conservative; down to 1866 Aberdeenshire remained so; and under the 1868 franchise East Aberdeenshire was handsomely recovered for Conservatism, by a majority of 345 in 1875. They have been affected more than southern counties by propaganda on the relations of landlord and tenant, although their circumstances and conditions are wholly different from those of the purely Highland counties. The election of 1885 came when the tenant farmer class was largely under the influence of the Farmers' Alliance agitation of some years before, and when an enormous class of new voters had just been admitted to the franchise, and carefully indoctrinated by demon-

strations of a spectacular character with the prevalent Radical misrepresentations. But there is a strong Conservative element in the character of the people, and there is substantial reason for believing that the majority of the agricultural population proper are quite well affected to the Unionist cause. Sir Arthur Grant would now have been member for West Aberdeenshire had the rural districts not been weighted with an offshoot of Aberdeen. East Aberdeen and Banffshire are both controlled by the large fishing communities along their coasts. The circumstances of the last bye-election in the former were peculiarly unfavourable to a strong country poll, but rather the contrary in the case of the fishermen voters. The general lesson is that where a constant and courageous effort is made on every occasion to assert and sustain constitutional principles progress is made, though its rate and extent will depend on a variety of circumstances; that no advance is made without fighting; that a contest to be creditable must be prepared for in time, and that the North-East is not a bit more hopeless than other places were ten years ago. There is no part of the country which has a stronger local patriotism: it may be hoped that in the hands of the North-Eastern Divisional Committee, this will supply an effective motive force for imbuing these constituencies with a larger-minded and a broader political faith than the miserable class-against-class dogmas that have too often been expounded by their Parliamentary representatives.

The Northern District Division consists of the counties of Moray and Nairn, Inverness, Ross, Sutherland, and Caithness, and the Inverness and Wick groups of burghs. The figures in this district for purposes of comparison are worthless as far as the election of 1885 is concerned, for Moray and Nairn and Inverness were the only seats contested by Conservatives, all the others being fought by Crofter as opposed to official Liberal candidates. Such as they are, the figures show that in the two contested seats the Conservatives polled 3,597 to 8,499 Gladstone or Crofter votes. In 1886, Inverness-shire being uncontested, the Unionists had 6,541 votes to 12,006 recorded for their opponents, and in 1892 every seat being fought, the respective polls were 10,913 to 14,766. In 1886, the Unionists held Inverness-shire

and the Inverness Burghs. These were lost, and the Wick Burghs gained in 1892. There can be no doubt that the most difficult prospect in Scotland lies before the Northern Divisional Committee. At the same time, this division did better than the North-East by one seat in 1892; a gallant assault is being made upon Ross-shire, and in spite of Mr. Gilbert Beith's tardy convictions as to the utility of the House of Lords, the Inverness Burghs should have awakened to some sense of the mistake they made at last election.

The South-Western District Division is a small one with a distinct character of its own, and an exceptionally good record. It contains Dumfriesshire, Kirkcudbrightshire, Wigtonshire, and the Dumfries Burghs. In 1885 there were 10,159 Conservative and 11,520 Gladstonian votes: in 1886, 10,715 Unionist and 8,924 Gladstonian, and in 1892 10,669 Unionist, and 9,071 Gladstonian. In 1885 the Conservatives held two out of the four seats by small majorities. In 1886 and 1892 the Unionists have held three in one case by an overwhelming majority. The Unionist vote shows an increase upon that of 1885, while it has not quite reached the figure of 1886, when the constituencies were more fully polled out in this division than in other parts of Scotland. The Gladstonian poll has picked up a little since 1886, but is more than 1000 below the figure of 1885. The most curious fact is that the Unionist vote in the Burghs should have steadily decreased. It is perhaps accounted for by the action of the Irish element in these towns, and the South-Western Divisional Committee have acted rightly in turning their attention in the first instance to a determined effort to bring the burghs into line with the counties, and make the South-West solid for the Union.

The constituency of Orkney and Shetland stands by itself. It is in the peculiar position of showing that Unionism was weaker in it in 1892, than Conservatism in 1885, a result which is wholly attributable to the social demoralisation that it has experienced, in common with some other constituencies on the mainland, from the teachings of Land agitators.

A general survey of Scotland thus shows that upon inductive reasoning from past conflicts the Unionists need not despair of

substantial success in any division of the country. They have been steadily approaching the time when the work of years produces definite results on the Parliamentary situation, and a favourable political atmosphere rapidly ripens crops that have struggled with difficulty through the earlier stages of growth. In the South-East absolute and complete victory is within reach of a determined effort; in the Eastern and Western districts the early winning of several seats is a matter of practical politics. In the Tay and the North-Eastern divisions there is every encouragement to hard work, and even in the far north there are at least three seats which a strong pull should secure.

The results of the annual registrations have almost uniformly been favourable to the Unionist cause, wherever active attention is given to this most important sphere of political activity. In 1892 there was one constituency which showed a substantial Gladstonian gain, and one or two others which showed slight ones; but in at least twenty the Unionist gains were large or substantial, and in many more they were appreciable. The progress of 1892 was more than sustained in 1893. In half-a-dozen constituencies the Gladstonians were able to boast a slight gain of a few votes, but in four times that number the Unionists had large gains, in eight more their advantage was substantial, and in others the balance was on the right side. As was to be expected, this progress is most marked in the Western district, where the Conservatives have for years been stronger than in other parts of Scotland, where population is more dense, and where the conditions of life afford a more fruitful field for the labours of the registration agent. But within the Eastern district good work has also been done, and not least in the constituencies in and around the Scottish metropolis, which shewed such a marvellous growth of Unionist sentiment at the general election, and the first-fruits of whose future political faith have already been reaped in West Lothian at the election of 1893. Several of the constituencies which form the Tay district division of the Scottish National Union have also done remarkably well. In the South-Western district, probably owing to the conditions of the localities and to the extent to which Unionist strength had already been brought out, the figures are not so large. In the

North-Eastern and Northern divisions there is less evidence of progress to be gathered from the reported registration results, but the waning majorities of a series of elections in East Aberdeenshire, the corresponding and encouraging advance in Banffshire, exhibited on a sudden emergency, and in the absence of proper preparation, and the magnificent work in West Aberdeenshire, which converted a seat formerly regarded as hopeless into one trembling in the balance, afford a good augury for the future and supply an incentive to every mode of political work.

The sensitive state of the political barometer is sufficient warning, if warning were needed, of the necessity of providing without delay, every seat which is to be seriously fought, with a suitable candidate. It is satisfactory to know that in the eighteen months since last election, much has been done in this direction. The South-Western district is completely manned, the Western is substantially supplied. The Eastern district has declared candidates for most of its seats, and with two or three exceptions the rest are understood to be arranged for. Somewhat similar is the state of the Tay division. But the North-East still lags behind, and it should be borne in mind that it illustrated at last election the evils of a practically unprepared for contest arranged at the eleventh hour. The Northern district presents conditions of peculiar difficulty, but it is understood that the most likely seats are practically provided. No time should be lost in completing preparations for an energetic, a systematically organised, and a sustained attack on every seat which presents a probability of victory, or the possibility of such a reduction of a majority as is the stepping-stone to future triumph.

In view of the present distribution of political power it is interesting to note the total electorate of the various districts under which Scotland has been dealt with, and into which community of interest, geographical conditions and railway facilities naturally divide it. In 1893 the total electorate was 625,659. The average to each of the 72 members would be 8,689. It is curious that one University seat numbers 8,914 voters and the other 8,438. Orkney and Shetland have a constituency of 7,011. The following are the total and average electorates for the six divisions :—

	Members.	Total Electorate.	Average Electorate.
Eastern District, -	16	129,000	8,062
Western „ -	26	283,997	10,922
Tay „ -	9	70,491	7,837
North-eastern District,	7	58,331	8,333
Northern „	7	35,458	5,065
South-western „	4	23,967	5,991

It is obvious that the two most northern counties which now return one member each ought to be consolidated, and that possibly the two sets of northern burghs might be fused with advantage. An examination of the electorates will show that justice would be done, and special interests grouped more satisfactorily if the agricultural electorate of Aberdeenshire were relieved by the extension of the Elgin Burgh group, so as to include other considerable fishing communities along the coast. Density of population must always to a certain extent lead to a comparative magnitude of electorate, but it is difficult to see why a Sutherland crofter should have considerably more than five times the power of a South Ayrshire farmer or a Mid Lothian manufacturer. It is a remarkable fact that the strength of Unionism lies in the large constituencies of the West, and is developing most rapidly in the larger constituencies of the East and North-East. But on the whole, with the exception of the far North, and to a less aggravated extent the South-West, the 72 members are not so unfairly distributed between the different divisions, though within these divisions several re-arrangements ought to be made.

In spite of certain of these electoral conditions which make for their disadvantage, Scottish Unionists have every reason to look forward with hope to the coming contest, and to exert themselves to the uttermost. They have three important factors in their favour, which have come into play since last general election. Scotsmen are not more enamoured of Home Rule, since the veil that enshrouded it has been lifted, and the mechanism of the figure has been dissected. They know now that it means absolute betrayal of their kinsmen and co-religionists in Ulster, without pretence of protection or compensation; they know that it means Scotland paying the piper to a grotesquely unfair extent, in order that Irishmen may dance; and they know that it

means the swamping of their own 72 members in the House of Commons by a band of 80 *quasi* foreigners, without responsibility, and holding in commission a dictatorial power. Scottish Liberal Churchmen now realize that their Church has not only been denounced but doomed, and that the executioners are at the doors. And it is not in one party alone that deep dissatisfaction exists with the conduct of Scottish business and the administration of Scottish affairs during the last eighteen months.

A SCOTTISH CONSERVATIVE.

ST. ANDREWS MEDICAL DEGREES.

To the Editor of The Scottish Review.

SIR,—The author of the admirable notice of ‘The Medical Schools of Scotland,’ in the January number of *The Scottish Review*, has, I think, been inadvertently a little unjust both to the ‘Triple’ qualification of the Scottish Bodies, and to the University of St. Andrews.

At p. 26 of that paper the writer says ‘The Royal Colleges of Physicians and Surgeons of Edinburgh, and the Faculty of Glasgow, give a “Triple” combined License to students who do not desire, or cannot obtain a University degree, or wish to supplement it, on practically the same examination as the University, except that the scientific subjects of Botany, Physics, and Biology are not examined upon. The student coming up for that License may have studied anywhere.’ Probably the great attraction of that License lies in the last clause of this paragraph,—the student may have studied anywhere. This examination is open to all who possess the needful education, and the necessary amount of knowledge. As shewn by the report of the Inspectors of the General Medical Council, this examination is of a very high class indeed, it is, as the writer referred to says, ‘practically the same examination as the University.’ The clause therefore ‘who cannot obtain a University degree,’ must be explained by some such supplementary statement as ‘through not having

kept up the regular *anni medici* necessary for a University degree,' and not for want of education or of knowledge. The statement also that the triple qualification does not require an examination in the scientific subjects of 'Botany, Physics, and Biology,' is no longer applicable, as all candidates are now required to pass a full examination in Physics, and elementary Biology, both vegetable and animal. In all respects therefore the examination for the Triple License is now abreast of that of the University. Though it only confers a license to practice and not a University degree, yet so highly is freedom of education valued that this License is taken by a yearly average of 213 men, and this number is annually increasing. As the three teaching Universities of Scotland only turn out amongst them some 400 graduates annually, it seems reasonable to suppose that a University degree, obtainable in the same unrestricted manner as this License,—which actually costs as much as any degree—would be even more highly appreciated. Inspection by the General Medical Council would effectively secure the maintenance of a high standard in regard to the examination. The narrowing effect of the maintenance of the unwise system of students being examined for their degrees by their teachers can only be fully realised by those conversant with this method, who have also had an opportunity of observing the opposite procedure which prevails on the Continent. But it may to some extent be appreciated by a consideration of the numbers of graduates who find it needful to broaden their views by a year or two of study in Continental schools.

In regard to the University of St. Andrews, the writer says at p. 21, 'St. Andrews University brought some contempt on Scotch medical degrees, and caused much scandal early in the century by virtually "selling" its degrees without examination. No doubt they were only conferred on men who had a medical qualification already, and who could show testimonials of good character and professional repute; but it was a very grave academic crime to have committed; and under the enactments of the 1858 Act, the University was fitly punished by being deprived of the full power she had possessed, and was only allowed to give ten medical degrees each year to suitable men

who had been in the profession for some time, and after proper examination.'

Now, I am well aware that Scotch medical degrees have often been unjustly aspersed, chiefly because they are all mere licenses to practice, and have no Academic prestige, inasmuch as a degree in arts is not insisted upon as a necessary preliminary. But there is no proof whatever that the degree of St. Andrews has ever been contemptible, or that any scandal was ever connected with it. The most august professional body in Scotland, the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh, was incorporated by Royal Charter signed and sealed on St. Andrews' day, 1681. From that date to January 1800 there were admitted 151 fellows, of these 54 were graduates of St. Andrews, and 55 were graduates in medicine of the University of Edinburgh, leaving 42 graduates to be distributed among seven Continental Universities, of which Rheims was the favourite (with a total of 17), and the other two Scotch Universities (Glasgow with 7, and Aberdeen with 19). Evidently up to the end of last century the St. Andrews degree held a very high position indeed amongst the *elite* of the medical profession in Scotland. During the early part of last century the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh, composed of graduates from all the most famous Universities of the world, more than one-third of them being as we have just seen graduates of St. Andrews, was engaged in founding and completing the medical faculty of the incipient University of Edinburgh. This College examined and licensed in 1705 the first graduate in medicine of the University of Edinburgh, and it continued to examine all the medical graduates of this University until its medical faculty was complete. But the College of Physicians did more, for it also examined and licensed Dr. James Crawford, the first Professor of Medicine, and Alexander Monro, the first Professor of Anatomy. In fact till the medical faculty was complete every teacher of medicine or of the collateral sciences who aspired to be a professor in the University of Edinburgh, had first to be examined and licensed by the College of Physicians, more than one-third of whom were graduates of the University of St. Andrews.

If we except quite recent times, the first five and twenty years of this century were the palmiest days of Edinburgh University, according to the writer of the article referred to, they must also have been the days when the medical degree of St. Andrews had reached its lowest ebb. Yet if we consult the roll of that powerful and distinguished Body which had just completed the establishment of this flourishing University, by graduating its students and licensing its professors, we do not find the St. Andrews degree at any discount, or that Edinburgh occupies any pre-eminent position. Out of 95 Fellows admitted during the first twenty-five years of this century, 36 were graduates of St. Andrews and 38 of Edinburgh. Notwithstanding the enormous strides which Edinburgh had made, the proportion of the graduates of the one university to those of the other remains much the same. Obviously St. Andrews had lost none of its prestige, if it had virtually sold its degrees, it was still fortunate enough to have amongst its graduates the very foremost men in the profession in Scotland.

It must be confessed, for Dr. Briggs has said it, that St. Andrews did occasionally, during the early years of this century, confer its medical degrees, without examination, upon men who had satisfied its professors by testimonials that they were worthy of the honour, but it did no more than the Royal College of Physicians did then, and continued still to do down so late as thirteen years ago. Examinations, especially for an honorary degree, were not so much in vogue in those days as they are now, and as it is exactly 69 years since St. Andrews gave up its wicked way, it seems rather to deserve to be complimented and rewarded for being in advance of the times, instead of being punished and fined for only doing for a short time what others did with impunity for a much longer period.

When St. Andrews did turn from the error of her ways, she did so only too effectually, and when the regulations in regard to the examination for its M.D. degree came into action in March, 1826, they were so stringent that Professor Briggs told the Commissioners, in 1827, that it was easier to get a degree at Glasgow or Edinburgh than at St. Andrews. And he naively added that these regulations were entirely satisfactory,

especially to 'the Edinburgh Professors.' For three years this satisfactory state of matters continued, so that the Commissioners were able to report that up to the 22nd of August, 1829, there had been only two degrees in medicine conferred by the University of St. Andrews, one of these being honorary.

Ere long, however, as always happens, the students became educated up to the requirements of the University, and without any relaxation of its regulations, the M.D. of St. Andrews became more popular and more sought after than ever. So much was this the case that, during twenty-six years, from 1836 to 1862, an average of 72.5 graduated annually at St. Andrews. This average was greater than that of any other University in the kingdom, except Edinburgh, and occasionally the number of St. Andrews' graduates overtopped even that of Edinburgh itself.

Two reasons amongst others combined to make the St. Andrews degree popular; first, there was the freedom of teaching, a student could get his education where he pleased. He was not, as was the case in Edinburgh during the first five decades of this century, helplessly thirled to the teaching of certain professors, many of whom were effete. And second, there never was a doubt as to the validity of the St. Andrews degree, while up to the passing of the Act of 1858, the title of 'Our Tounis College' to rank as a University, and to grant degrees, was, to say the least, extremely doubtful, and was often desired.

No longer able to pick holes in the examination, the Commissioners in 1863 found fault with the students for coming from the London schools to St. Andrews, when, as they said, 'a license of any of the London Medical Corporations suffices to admit them to practice; and if they aspire to a degree, it appears more natural that they should present themselves as candidates to the University of London.' A piece of gratuitous advice which was entirely uncalled for. Suppose the present Commissioners were to take it into their wise heads to say to Edinburgh, 'We find that 45 per cent. of your students come from England and the Colonies, we consider that it would be much better for these young men to be taught at home, and

we desire that for the future you shall decline to educate any but those born in Scotland.' High-handed and domineering as such an ordinance would be, it would not be really more unreasonable than the advice of the Commissioners of 1863, an advice which culminated in the ordinance by which the number of men graduating at St. Andrews in any one year was restricted to ten, and these over forty and already on the register.

It is a low point of view to take, and one which I am not inclined to press, but it is quite needful that every one should know to what extent the interests of St. Andrews have been sacrificed for the sake of others not more deserving.

The thirty years, from 1836 to 1866, include four years of the ten men only, yet, during these thirty years, the graduates in medicine paid in fees for their diplomas, £53,261 5 0
Of this there was—

Retained by the University, £33,331 5 0

Paid to Government for Stamps, 19,930 0 0

Fees paid by Graduates in Arts during the

same period for Diplomas, - - - £762 6 0

No Stamp required.

Thus we see that during the past two hundred years the M.D. degree of St. Andrews has always held an eminent position in Scotland, and that it was no less esteemed in England. Throughout the history of these two hundred years there is no hint of any scandal, no trace of any contempt connected with this degree, until a jealous neighbour for its own selfish ends, endeavoured to cast a slur upon it. Moreover, we see that St. Andrews was not punished because it granted degrees without examination, but because, in spite of a very stringent examination in medicine, preceded in every case by an equally stringent examination in arts, she was still too successful. With the Gresham University looming in the near future, it is unlikely that so great a success can ever be repeated. But the Commissioners must remember that when the Gresham becomes a reality, and provides a degree for the licentiates of the London Colleges, if there be no open University to which the licentiates of our Scottish Bodies can resort, one of two things must happen: either extra-mural teaching will entirely cease, and with its failure

the Universities themselves must greatly suffer, or the strongest endeavour will be made to secure the power of conferring degrees for our Scottish Colleges. A *dernier ressort*, involving a blow to the Universities which the present Commissioners will not enjoy being the means of bringing about.

I am, yours obediently,

FNΩMΩN.

SUMMARIES OF FOREIGN REVIEWS.

GERMANY.

DEUTSCHE RUNDschau (January, February, March).—‘Reflections of a German travelling in Germany,’ the title is a strange one, and to judge from it, the paper to which it is prefixed might seem somewhat superfluous. Such an impression, if it be produced by the heading of Herr P. D. Fischer’s contribution to the January number of this review, will, however, quickly disappear on perusal of the article itself. For the last fifty years, the writer, in virtue of his official position, has travelled over and over again through the length and breadth of Germany. He has done so with the eyes of a close and keen observer, and with the mind of a cultured and well-informed man. Drawing from an abundant store of reminiscences and personal experiences, he compares the past with the present and indicates the many important changes of every kind which have everywhere taken place within the last half century. Nor is the subject matter alone interesting. A light and pleasant style imparts an additional charm to what German and foreign readers alike will find a delightful piece of work.—Herr Edward Hanslick continues his attractive ‘Lebens-Erinnerungen,’ reminiscences which supply an interesting chapter of the history of music during the greater part of the present century. The present instalment comes down to the year 1866.—The article which Herr Ludwig von Hirschfeld entitles ‘A Statesman of the Old School,’ and which he bases on official records and correspondence, traces the career of Leopold von Plessen, a former Mecklenburg Minister.—The paper bearing the title, ‘What Women can do,’ and the signature of Lady Blennerhasset, though exceedingly interesting in itself, does not contain anything new to English readers. It is based on a book which appeared last year, the ‘Adventures in Mashonaland, by two Hospital Nurses, Rose Blennerhassett and Lucy Sleeman.’—English material has also supplied the paper which Herr E. Reyer devotes to the development of Australia. He has made excellent use of the official reports put at his disposal by the Government of New South Wales, and also of Coghlan’s ‘Wealth and Progress of New South Wales,’ and has summarized them ably and carefully.—Some months ago, the Deutsche Rundschau published a paper dealing with Gottfried Keller’s sojourn in Heidelberg. As a supplement it now gives a sketch of his five years’ resi-

dence in Berlin, from 1850 to 1855. To the paper are appended a number of most interesting letters from Keller himself, which throw much light on his character, opinion, and methods.—A paper of considerable value is that in which Dr. Plath deals with the difficult question as to the actual existence of authentic specimens of Merovingian and Carolingian architecture. After showing the fallacy of the assumption that the buildings of this period were exclusively, or even chiefly of wood and must therefore have disappeared, he argues that there must be, either above or beneath the surface, a considerable number of remains. He shows from historical records, where important buildings were raised during the period under consideration, and expresses his conviction that systematic excavations could not fail to produce notable results.—A further instalment of Hanslick's reminiscences takes us to Paris during the Exhibition year, 1867, and introduces us to a number of musical and other celebrities—Rossini, Auber, Berlioz, Adelina Patti, Gustave Doré, Thiers, Jules Favre, and many others. From Paris it returns to Vienna and makes us acquainted with Theodor Billroth.—Several of the items in the table of contents for March are continuations of articles already mentioned. This is the case with 'Gottfried Keller in Heidelberg und Berlin,' which is here brought to a close by an instalment which further justifies what has already been said as to the value of this contribution.—Herr Fischer also continues and concludes his 'Reflections,' of which this second part is no less interesting and instructive than the first instalment.—The well-known name of Hermann Grimm naturally attracts attention to the 'Reminiscences and Forecasts' opposite which it stands. Though rather discursive, it is a pleasant and interesting contribution. The reminiscences deal chiefly with the Emperor William I. and the Empress Augusta; the forecasts mainly concern Goethe, of whom the writer believes it likely that the twentieth century will find that many of its discoveries have been anticipated by him.—In a short but important paper, Professor Steindorff—Ebers's successor in Leipzig—gives an account of the result of his researches in the East.—All the numbers for the quarter have the usual literary, dramatic, and political reviews and letters, as well as instalments of an excellent serial, 'Caritas,' by Emil Marriot.

WESTERMANN'S MONATS-HEFTE (January, February, March).—Each of the three parts for this quarter open with instalments of a very powerful novel by Ossip Schubin, 'Woher tönt dieser Missklang durch die Welt?'—a work which for inten-

sity of feeling as well as for technical skill is distinctly above the average of German fiction, and which rises to a greater height than even 'Væ Victus!' that remarkable picture of modern life which first drew attention to the writer some five or six years ago.—The January part concludes Herr Gurlitt's study of 'Painting in Scotland.' It is particularly interesting for its notice of the Glasgow school. He deals with the chief representatives of it in brief but suggestive remarks, calling special attention to the works of Melville, Lavery, and James Guthrie. The article is illustrated, but the illustrations are very far from reaching the standard set in recent numbers, to which we made reference at the time.—'Verismus' is a new term, for which, however, there does not appear to have been any great necessity. It is used to indicate the artist's effort to make his production as like nature as possible. Verism, to anglicize the word, does not, therefore, differ very materially from what is now commonly styled realism; but it has been taken into the slang of musical criticism, especially in connection with such productions as *Cavalleria Rusticana*. To this 'Verism,' Herr Scholz devotes a paper in which he shows that, taking the term in its narrower sense, there can be no such thing in music; whilst if it be taken in a wider sense, no music can exist without it. As to Mascagni and Leoncavallo, he attributes the furore caused by their so-called verism to the simple fact of their having dealt with essentially Italian subjects.—Herr Hermann Klein devotes a few pages to an account of the manner in which the barometer was invented, his reason for relating the well-known episode, to which he does not add a single detail, is that it took place 250 years ago.—An interesting description of a visit to the Andaman Islands, on one of which England has established an Indian penal settlement, is given by Herr Ehlers.—Bernardin de St. Pierre, the author of 'Paul et Virginie,' is the subject of a very readable sketch, which does not, however, contain anything but what everybody knows who has any acquaintance with French literature.—The February part brings another biographical and critical essay of far greater interest and value. It is devoted to Guy de Maupassant, and is marked by a thorough knowledge and understanding of his works as well as by a very fair appreciation of his literary qualities.—In the same number there are two articles descriptive of foreign parts. One of them takes the reader away to the south seas; the other to Gingeh, near Cairo, the scene of St. George's legendary exploit with the dragon.—The laying out of gardens is dealt with with considerable detail in a paper which runs through two numbers, and which is particularly well illustrated.—In the third of the quarter's numbers the

most interesting contribution is that which gives an account of all that has been devised of late years to lessen the horrors of war and to bring relief to those whom it strikes down on the battle-field.—The same number contains an interesting article descriptive of mining-life in Argentina. It is well and abundantly illustrated.

THEOLOGISCHE STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN (No. 2, 1894).—Dr. Kolde, of Erlangen, under the title 'Zur Geschichte der Ordination und der Kirchengzucht,' gives a brief account of the investigations conducted in 1538 by two clergymen as to the procedure in vogue then in Wittenberg and neighbouring districts, in supplying clergymen or ordaining men to fill the charges where regularly trained men were not numerous enough to meet the want. He gives us their reports, and these throw considerable light on the ideas entertained in ecclesiastical circles at that time regarding ordination and the exercise of ecclesiastical functions generally.—Dr. Hermann Schultz continues his extremely interesting article on 'the moral idea of merit and its application to the comprehension of the work of Christ.' In the previous section, as we showed in our last issue, he brought out very clearly the distinction between Christ's teaching as to the administration of the Divine rewards, and that prevailing in His day in Jewish and Gentile circles. According to the teaching of Jesus it was not the mere acts which a man did, the works which he performed, that determined the Divine judgments regarding him. It was the nature or character of the man himself, and *that* judged in the light of his opportunities and circumstances, that conditioned God's verdict regarding him. The man who knew his lord's will and did it not was to be punished more severely than he who failed from ignorance of that will. Dr. Schultz went on then to show how the mediæval doctrine of merits—the merits of Christ and of the saints—arose in the Church in defiance of the Master's teaching and that of the New Testament writers. He traces further here the evolution of that ecclesiastical doctrine, and shows how it was fostered and coloured by the interplay of Roman and Germanic Law and Feudal customs connected with the administration of justice. Anselm's theory of Christ's *Satisfactio* is minutely examined, and Dr. Schultz is careful to clear it of some misconceptions that prevail even yet in certain high quarters regarding it. He shows too, that however unsatisfactory that theory is now seen to be, it was the logical outcome of the ideas current then among jurists and clerical writers. He traces the history of the doctrine and the controversies it gave rise to in the schools of the Nominalists and Realists, etc., up to the dawn of the Reformation.—Dr. J.

K. Asmus, of Karlsruhe, contributes an excellent paper on Gregory of Nazianzen, in which he shows the close affinity of his ethical and philosophical views with those that characterized the Cynics, as also the practical consistency of his life with his principles. Dr. N. Müller, Professor of Theology at Berlin, gives a second article on Konrad Wimpina, which, as before, he describes as 'Eine Quellenstudie.' Exegetical notes follow on Deuteronomy xxxiii. 12, by Herr Pfarrer Böklen; on 1 Sam., ix., 24, and Isaiah, liii., and emendations of the texts suggested by Prof. Ley of Marburg, and on Luke, xvi., 11, by Prof. Karl Knoke of Göttingen. The other articles are 'Jenaer Lutherfunde,' by Dr. Buchwald; and 'Über Hans Neilsen Hauge,'—a Swedish preacher of some notoriety at the beginning of this century—by Dr. G. Kent. An interesting summary and review of recent works on the Old Testament is contributed by Dr. L. Kautzsch. The works reviewed are König's 'Einleitung'; Wildeboer's 'De Letterkunde desouden Verbonds'; Dr. Driver's 'Introduction,' Dr. W. Robertson Smith's second edition of 'The Old Testament in the Jewish Church,' and Dr. Holzinger's 'Einleitung in den Hexadeuch.'

THEOLOGISCHE STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN (No. 3, 1894).—The largest part of this number is given to an elaborate article by Dr. Kleinert on the recent laws to regulate religious worship in the State Churches of Germany. The regulations in use hitherto have been those passed in 1829, under Friedrich William III. The changes proposed now have given rise to a somewhat animated controversy in the religious press, which shows no signs of abating as yet, or losing any of its heat. This review of the situation will be of service to those of our readers who wish to master the details of the proposed regulations, but it is only fair to mention that it is already the subject of adverse criticism on its native soil. But a writer can only, after all, see things through his own spectacles, and present them from his own point of view. It is the privilege of readers to look at them again through their own (naked or aided) eyes, and judge according to the appearances things have to their minds.—Dr. Hermann Schultz takes up again the subject of 'Merits,' or the church doctrine thereof, and traces its history in the Protestant churches from the era of the Reformation. This doctrine had much to do with the origin of the Reformation. It was the gross abuses to which that doctrine had led that fired the indignation of Luther, and impelled him to examine and, from examination, to denounce it and the system built upon, and fostered by, it. But his past training in scholastic theology still conditioned to a large extent the currents of his

thinking when he came face to face with the nature of Christ's redemptive work. This inheritance from the schoolmen and their predecessors was the *fons et origo* of most of the difficulties in which Protestant theologians found themselves involved when they tried to explain to themselves and others what it was in the death of Christ that secured salvation for men. The efforts to find a satisfactory solution to the problem are here detailed, or at least the most important of them, and it forms a curious chapter in the history of the human mind, illustrating as it does the play of the conservative and progressive elements in its evolution. The controversy still proceeds, and sects and schools are still being formed round 'solutions' of the mystery.—Professor Warth, of Karntal, furnishes an additional note to his recent paper on Matthew xi. 19.—The only recent publication noticed is Dr. Witte's, 'Die Erneuerung der Schlosskirche zu Wittenberg,' and the notice is by Dr. J. Köstlin.

R U S S I A .

VOPROSI PHILOSOFII I PSYCHOLOGII, No. 20 (Questions Philosophical and Psychological) begins with an article on Art and Morality, by M. E. A. Bobroff, in which he informs us that he has long been occupied on this subject, and has called forth severe critiques in the Russian journals, the appearance of which, especially of late, has shown how much interest there is in the subject, more particularly on its æsthetical side. The question has excited so much interest that it has been taken up from a juridical point of view by jurists, and in particular by the St. Petersburg Juridical Society, in a treatise on press offences, and the obligations of artists in relation to works of art. The author shows truly enough the enormous extent and bearing of art upon the life of every cultivated man, and cites Dostoeffski to show that it bears upon man almost as much as food and drink. The author also illustrates the wonder-working power of art in its effect upon evil and debased natures, and in elevating others by giving them new impulses, and notices that the decision of the question may be placed on other grounds. He next turns to the psychical conditions of art and morality, how far they are like one another, and as to how they differ. Art and Morality, he observes, participate in external movement, for Art calls into being its production, while Morality expresses itself by concessions or permissions, both consisting in activities of the subject in the external world.—The article succeeding this is an elaborate review of the recent works of our own Romanes on the Psychological Nature of Instinct. The author takes up the subject from

1760, when Reimarus endeavoured to formulate the difference between instinct and reason, the former being regarded as independent of experience and reflection, the activity being carried forward in this form even from birth. Cuvier, the great naturalist, strove to lay down the boundary line between these two faculties; but from that time there has been a continuous controversy between naturalists who accept the above stated view of instinct, and others who are inclined to accept the view in which instinct is regarded much more as approximating to reason in man. Of the moot points of a fundamental kind in Zoopsychology, occupying a central place, the most important is the question as to the psychological nature of instinct. In its decision, partisans of the subjective method have sought a basis for the reconciliation of the cardinal differences of opinion. From the other side, in relation to this question, there are data obtained by other methods of research, which render the hope of success from these endeavours very doubtful, and establish an entirely different view as to the psychical nature of instinct. The most notable representative of this direction in science, which proposes, if possible, to reconcile the difference of opinion on the basis of the subjective method, is incontestibly Romanes, also one of the most talented representatives of the Darwinian school. He has dedicated to the working out of questions of Zoopsychology two capital works, on 'Animal Intelligence,' known to us in the Russian translation of M. Kholodkano; to the second, on 'Mental Evolution in Animals,' we have had access by a French translation. The fundamental idea of the teaching of Romanes, on to this point, which renders it possible to reconcile the prevailing differences of opinion on the territory of Zoopsychology, is his idea as to the consciousness of instinctive activity. If this idea were proved, the opposed views of Cuvier, Darwin, Wells, and others, as to the unconsciousness of instincts would be overturned, the controversies as to the instinctive or rational activity of animals would lose all their signification, so that in this and the other cases, it would be first of all a question of consciousness as signifying an activity essentially rational. This idea of the consciousness of instinctive activity, however, does not put forward any novelty at the hands of this author; it has only received that complete treatment and the working up of a ground-work of facts which it had not received before. After these, and other preliminary observations, the author, M. B. Wagner, proceeds to analyse and discuss the contents of the two above-mentioned works of Mr. Romanes. The paper is to be continued.—The next article is a continuation from the previous

number of the *Voprosi* of the Psychological views of Theodore Meynert, an eminent anatomist and medical specialist on matters connected with the brain and nervous system, a Professor moreover in the University of Vienna, by M. B. Serbskie.—‘The World Conception of the Stankevitch circle and the poetry of Koltzoff,’ is an interesting article from the purely Russian point of view. Koltzoff has been called the Russian Burns, but when we enter into the views and incidents of his life revealed by the facts put before us, the resemblance to Burns fades away. The British poet, whose circumstances and poetry remind us most of Koltzoff is not Burns, but Henry Kirke White, while the tragical element in the Russian poet’s career sinks into a deeper gloom than in either of the British poets. Koltzoff was the son of a Russian peasant belonging to Woronezh, a small town in southern Russia, who occupied himself with the slaughtering of cattle. This was long antecedent to the days of the emancipation of the serfs which took place in 1862. Koltzoff was born in 1809, received a very scanty education in the town school for a year and four months, and was then removed to assist his father in his occupation. The youth was sent first of all to herd the cattle on the ‘steppe’ or vast plain which the interior of European Russia presents as its most characteristic feature. Even before his tenth year he began to awaken to intellectual life; the first money given him to buy playthings was spent on the *Skaski* or folk-tales of his country, and the *builini*, or folk-poesy, which are found so abundantly among the Slavic peoples. Not only so, he presently began to imitate the folk-poesy which came into his hands, and also the poets Lomonossoff, Dershavin, etc., who were the poets of the time when he lived. The contradictions in the life of the young poet were sufficiently marked, and it was soon found that the ideas and views of life, which presently emerged in the thoughts of Koltzoff, did not fit him, but the contrary, for the occupation of butcher’s apprentice and cattle-herd, which became now his daily task. He had been taken from school when his mind was opening to apprehend the world of thought and ideas as they are revealed in books, and to be compelled now to turn his back upon the world which possessed so many attractions, became to him a matter of life-long regret and sorrow. It was perhaps some alleviation in his lot that he was soon ‘discovered’ by a fellow-mortal who had similar aspirations. This discovery was made by N. B. Stankevitch, a student of the Moscow University, five years older than himself, and destined to become, notwithstanding his humble circumstances, the most famous member

of the circle to which he belonged. Poetry was the daily occupation of the youth, but Stankevitch had imbibed in the Moscow University, an intoxicating draught of the famous *Natur-Philosophie* of Schelling, and that he should communicate his thoughts on this subject to Koltzoff, was natural enough. A circle was speedily formed for the reception of these new ideas of which, judging by the history of Schelling and Hegel in connection with the Moscow University, the Slavic youth are more susceptible than those of almost any other nation. They were joined by A. P. Cerebriansky, a pupil in the seminary or school for the clergy at Woronezh, and an enthusiast in poesy, music, and art. These youths became acquainted with a Professor Paoloff, who had also been a pupil in the seminary at Woronezh and was eventually professor, but brimful of enthusiasm for the philosophy of Schelling. Others were more or less drawn into this intellectual companionship; all of them were more or less of the same ages and given to the same pursuits. Curiously the three first mentioned died prematurely within a few years of each other, Cerebriansky in 1838, Stankevitsch and Paoloff in 1840, and Koltzoff in 1842. The members of the circle influenced each other. They did more than this. Koltzoff's poems were published, and have reached twenty or more editions, and hence it is that the circle has become interesting and influential in relation to Russian literature and philosophy; hence, also, the circle of Stankevitsch has found its way into the *Voprosi* and become the property of literary and philosophical critics. Several biographies of Koltzoff have been published. The somewhat hard and coarse old peasant Koltzoff has been roughly handled, and the poetry of Koltzoff has been analysed in relation to the folk-poesy and Schellingian philosophy, which was the *pabulum* on which he was nourished.—In succession to this article of M. B. Tarmerschedt, we have a kind of lay sermon to the rising school of Russian thinkers, by M. A. Vvedensky, who goes through the well-worn schools of the past, the sophists of Greece, the mediæval schools, and the critical philosophy of Kant in the hope of inducing the rising school of Russian thinkers to take up a more independent position. Of the success of his appeal, however, he is not very sanguine, for he names his own preachments *Pia Desideria*!—In No. 18 of the *Voprosi*, there was an article entitled 'Faith and Knowledge. We have here in the twentieth number an echo by M. Alexander Vvedensky, and a reply 'Concerning Views of Faith in relation to Knowledge.' The critic here takes up Hume's views on the causal nexus, etc., which he discusses with the sceptical conclusion that Hume was right.

He takes up also a number of other questions, and endeavours to shew the correctness of the Humean deductions.—The last article is on 'Psychical Epidemics,' being the report of a lecture delivered before a medical society connected with the University of Moscow.—This is followed by the usual reviews, controversial matter, and bibliography.

ROOSKAHYAH MYSL—*Russian Opinion*—(December, 1893, January and February, 1894).—Where the matter comes from to fill these closely printed 500 pages monthly is a question which might with good reason be propounded were our publication a British one, but it applies with tenfold force when we remember that that publication hails from the newest member of the European family, the so-called illiterate Russian race. Granted that a certain proportion of its contents consists of translated matter, a tribute to the foreigner, there still remains a large proportion of native literature, some of it indeed of a very high order. The names of authors which we quarterly present to our readers must have become by this time almost household words. We miss, however, one name, not from the *Rooskahyah Mysl* with which, so far as we know, it never had connection, but from all bibliographic catalogues, a name of first-class literary significance, that of His Excellency K. P. Pobedonostseff, whose duties as Senator, Ober-procuror or Juri-consult of the Holy Synod, and latterly also of Secretary of State to the Emperor, leave him no time whatever for literary pursuits. This we state of our own certain knowledge, and we sadly miss our old friend. We now commence our quarterly record. 'Mamzel,' a story by I. A. Saloff, commenced in November, is now complete.—'The Island of Saghalien,' a written Itinerary, by A. P. Tchaikoff, commenced in October, still runs on through 73 pages.—'Poetry' is represented by A. M. Feodoroff, M. M. Gherbanafski (two pieces, one of fair length), V. I. Nemirovich-Danchenko, D. S. Merezhkofski. and K. D. Balmont.—'Bagatelles of Foreign Literature,' by M., consist of two short tales by Leon de Tenso and George Ferre.—'A Spirit Tale' by A. I. Ertel, is given complete.—'The Family Polanetski,' by Henry Senkevich, commenced in August, still continues, having reached Book II., Chap. 3. It promises largely, at least in bulk.—'Working of the Siberian Gold Mines in the period of the Fifties,' an historical record by V. I. Semefski, commenced in October, is now complete.—'On the History of Contemporary Georgian Literature,' by A. S. Khakhanoff we read what few wise men in the West dream of.—'Questions of the Comparative Crimes of the Sexes,' is a review of Mr. Foinitski's work 'A Criminal Woman,' by E. N. Tarnofski.—In 'On the Amelioration of Credit,' by M.

Hartsenshtein, we have a profound German speculation. 'Charles Darwin and His Theory,' are the third and fourth portions of a most elaborate review of the 'Life and Letters of Charles Darwin:' John Murray, 1887, by M. A. A.—'Scientific Views,' contains papers on the 'Ninth Archæological Assembly at Wilna' by M. S. Korelin; 'Contemporary Condition of Astronomy' by Prof. V. K. Tseraski; and 'Ninth Assembly of the Russian Natural History Society and its Branches at Moscow' by Vl. D. Sokoloff.—'Home Review' and 'Foreign Review' are as usual full of interest.—Our previous pleasure in perusing I. I. Ivanyoukoff's 'Outlines of Provincial Life' is not lessened by the present three further instalments.—'Contemporary Art' as usual is devoted to the record of the theatrical world of Moscow.—The 'Bibliographic Division,' full of interest, contains reviews of 134 works, one of which is a new translation of the works of Charles Dickens.—The correspondence between 'Alexander Ivanovich Herten and Natalie Alexandrovna Zakharin' still goes on.—'Oligarchic Government after Peter the Great' is an interesting political essay by A. N. Philipoff.—'Life and Activity of Professor Sharks,' the French Physicist, is the contribution of L. S. Minor.—P. N. Milyoukoff gives us another instalment of his treatise, entitled 'Chief Current of Russian Historical Thought in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries.'—The review of Alfred Dove's 'Autobiography of I. von Ranke' is brought to a close in February after an inconvenient delay from the previous August till its resumption in January.—'A Democratic Public in a Civilised Epoch' by I. I. Ivanoff, and 'La Comédie de Société au XVIII. siècle' by Du Bled have reference to the French state of things one hundred years ago. 'Posthumous Work of Taine,' 'Les Origines de la France contemporaine,' 'Le Régime moderne,' Toms. II., 1894, bids fair to be a lengthy paper. As yet we have 42 pages only.—'Project of an Economical Upraising of Russia' by V. V. is of interest in view of the surplus in her National Budget just announced by M. de Witte, immediately following, as the *Times* has it, 'the disastrous period through which Russia has so recently passed.'—'Humanism and National Movement in Germany,' by P. A. Viscovatoi, shows the watchful eye that Russians keep upon all that passes in her immediate neighbourhood.

ITALY.

LA NUOVA ANTOLOGIA (February 1st).—M. Scherillo, writing about the mother and step-mother of Dante, remarks that nothing is known of the former but her sweet name 'Bella,' and the apostrophe in which she is addressed by the poet, is

the only allusion he ever made to her. Almost as little is known of his step-mother.—M. Besso writes on the Italian budget, and Jessie White Mario, who went to Sicily for the purpose, commences in this, and ends in the following number, a sad and detailed description of the economical and social condition of the island.—J. Valetta writes on the Centenary of Palestrina.—A. Galanti advocates, on the part of the Roman curia, the preservation of the Latin liturgy in Istria, as it is the national liturgy of that extreme point of the Continent.—The bibliographical bulletin notices Edward Cannan's 'History of the Theory of Production,' etc., opining that the author loses his way and fails to arrive at any true signification of well-digested doctrines.—(February 15th).—G. Finali contributes a paper on the 'Letters of Baron Ricasoli,' and R. Bonfadini, one on 'European Political Guarantees.'—C. Giorda begins some notes on San Carlo Borromeo and Giovanni Bolero.—F. d'Ovidio discusses the pedagogic question, approving of the action of the present ministry in educational affairs.—In the conclusion of her paper, Jessie White Mario gives a terrible picture, and says the most pressing thing is the improvement of the habitations of the Sicilian labourers, until this is done no progress can be made in the mitigation of their misery.

LA RASSEGNA NAZIONALE (February 1st).—Almost the whole of this number is occupied with a review by G. Grabinsky of Father Didon's 'Life of Jesus Christ.'—Alessandro Rossi contributes a remarkable article, deprecating the general tone of hopeless depression which reigns in Italy, owing to the late misgovernment, and attempts, by facts and figures, to prove that the actual crisis is not a mortal malady, but a curable one. It requires, however, not only economical but moral regeneration on the part of governors and governed. The article is entitled 'Keep High Your Hearts!'.—(February 16th).—In an article entitled 'Biological Chemistry and Evolution,' Professor P. Giacosa discusses the questions now preoccupying scientific men.—The Duke of Gualtieria contributes a long account of the rural labourers in Sicily, describing their condition. Though he allows that their material sufferings may have increased of late years, he thinks that the worst is their being deprived of the spiritual comfort and moral encouragement which formerly ruled. The ties of respect to authority, fear of the law, and religious sentiments, are all loosened. The writer goes on to examine the causes of the general economic depression, and concludes with a proposal that the labourers should share in the property on which they work.—Alessandro Rossi

has an interesting paper on the 'Unemployed,' apropos of the English Government report last year. The writer examines all the projects for settling this important question, and applies his conclusions to the state of his own country.

GIORNALE DEGLI ECONOMISTI (January, February) (January 1) contains:—'To the Italian Public.'—'The movement of Humanity.'—'Where have we arrived?' by Frederick Nietzsche.—A remarkable passage by Denig on the Malthusian law.—'The first principles of law.'—'The struggle for life.'—'A glance at the economical civilization of North America.'—Reviews, etc.—(January 7) contains: 'Financial Affairs.'—'The railway service and economy.'—'Vigilance exercised on Banks.'—'The progress of railways in the United States.'—'Italian Railways in July, 1893.'—'The potato harvest in Italy in 1892.'—'The deficit in the French budget.'—(January 14) 'Sicily and the action of the communes.'—'The corn-tax.'—'The conversion of French 4½ per cent.'—Reviews. (February 11) 'The politics of economy.'—'The corn-tax in France.'—Bibliographical and economical reviews. (February 18) 'The Exchequer.'—'The treaty of commerce between Russia and Germany.'—'The present condition of Sicily.'—'Some new sources of income.'—'The perquisitions in Genoa,' etc.

REVISTA EGIZIANA (published at Alexandria) contains: 'No. 22.'—'The Museum Hotel.'—'Education and Art.'—'Apropos of M. A. Chélu's book on the Nile, the Soudan, and Egypt.'—'Vera.'—'Echoes of Cairo.'—'Olla Podrida.'

GREECE.

ATHENA (Vol. V. pt. 4) opens with a paper on the remaining fragments of a poem by Solomos, considered as to style and rhythmical effects.—A memorial from the Philosophical Society to the Government dealing with its proposed University legislation follows.—The k. Bases continues his Roman researches, and discusses auspices and the meaning of *pro magistratu*.—The k. Matsas sends a number of inscriptions from Chalkis.—A very interesting paper by the K. Hatzidakis on the name of the Morea is concluded. The common derivation from the shape of the Peloponnesus is rejected. The resemblance could only be noticed by geographers of a period long posterior to the rise of the name. The derivation from the Slavonic *more* (sea) and also that of the Petredes from *Mopla* he considers philologically impossible. He would derive the name from *μῆλον* after the analogy of other place names which come from the names of plants common in their neighbourhood. The numbers of these is a remarkable feature in the topography of Greece.

FRANCE.

REVUE DE L'HISTOIRE DES RELIGIONS (No 6, 1893).—M. A. Barth's 'Bulletin des Religions de l'Inde' is continued in this number, and occupies the first place. The publications here summarised and critically judged are those recently issued dealing with Buddhism. The list of such publications—books and magazine articles of considerable merit—is a very large one, and is indicative of the wide interest taken in this religion and its history, and of the number of scholars of various countries who are contributing to advance our knowledge both of the religion itself and of the influences it has exercised, or is said to have exercised, on the intellectual life of both east and west. M. Barth's 'Bulletins' are extremely serviceable as guides to all who are engaged in such studies, for they not only bring together the titles of the works published, but give us a critical appreciation of them by one who by his special knowledge of the subject is admirably fitted to speak with authority.—Another 'Bulletin' appears in this number also. It is M. Pierre Paris' *Bulletin archéologique de la Religion Grecque*, a summary of the work effected by the various archaeological societies engaged in excavations and researches on the classic ground of Hellas, and of the publications in which these are chronicled, or the results described. Dr. Albert Réville contributes the first part of an article 'les Hérodes et le rêve Hérodien.' This first part is taken up with a sketch of the events which led to the intrusion of Antipater into the political affairs of Judæa, and then of the steps taken by Herod to secure and aggrandise his position in the State. The dream which fired his brain, and which he kept steadily before him, though unrevealed to any, Dr. Réville thinks, was the mastery of Rome itself, and our author proposes to establish this by a series of cumulative evidences drawn from what we know of the man and his history.—M. G. Bonet-Maury, one of the French representatives at, or deputies to, the 'Parliament of Religions' at the recent World's Fair at Chicago, continues here his descriptive summary of the papers read, and the debates which followed these. His report is concluded here, and furnishes us with an excellent *résumé* of the proceedings, and a modest forecast of the probable results of such a new departure in religious policy as that enterprise was.—M. Philippe Berger, the successor of M. E. Renan in the Chair of Hebrew and Oriental Languages at the Collège de France, has put his opening lecture at his installation to office at the service of the editor of this *Revue*. In this lecture he not only pays an eloquent tribute of homage to his predecessor, but gives an extremely interesting history of the Chair itself, and its varied fortunes

since it was instituted by François I. in 1530, up to the present hour. The burden of the lecture is, however, M. Renan himself, his literary life and labours, and will be read with almost as much pleasure by students of his works as it was listened to by those who had studied under him in his class room, or were in the circle of his familiar friends, and who were present on that occasion to pay respect to his memory, and welcome one as his successor so fitted by scholarship and sympathy, to carry on his work in the same spirit and with almost equal devotion, as M. Berger is. M. Berger has been Professor of Hebrew at the Faculté de Théologie, in Paris, for the last sixteen years, and his monumental '*Histoire de l'écriture dans l'antiquité*' placed him recently in the first rank of European philologists and orientalists.

REVUE DES RELIGIONS (No. 1, 1894).—Apart from the always full and cosmopolitan '*Chronique*,' which is an interesting and distinguishing feature of this *Revue*, there are only two articles in this number, one, the first of a series to be devoted to the history and exposition of Mohammedanism, and the other a continuation of Dr. Peisson's dissertations on Chinese religions and sacred books. The first of these two articles is anonymous. Its author is described as '*un Professeur de Grand Séminaire*.' The section of the series that appears here is of a purely introductory character. We have first a description of the country in which Mahomedanism took its rise, its mountains and valleys, its deserts and pasture grounds, its climate, the races that inhabit it, its vegetation and general products. The second part is taken up with an historical *résumé* of the Semitic race and character, and then of the Arabs in particular, to whom Islam first addressed itself. Here we have described to us the social condition, customs, and political constitutions under which the Arab clans lived, and live; their intellectual *status* weighed, and their tastes and pursuits detailed.—In the second article Dr. Peissen treats of Confucianism, dealing with the opinions formed of it by missionaries and cultured visitors, or residents, and by philosophic students who have turned their attention to it. The outlines of the system are then sketched and its leading doctrines examined and tested in the light of modern, and especially of Catholic ideas.

REVUE CELTIQUE (Janvier, 1894).—The first place is deservedly given to the continuation of the series of articles begun in the previous number by M. D'Arbois de Jubainville, on the '*Celts in Spain*.' Here, besides identifying many of the places they inhabited, by means of the local names still in use, and numerous passages occurring in Ptolemy, Appian, Strabo,

Cæsar, and others, he gives an account of their fortunes during and after the Second Punic War, and shows the assistance they rendered both to the Romans and the Carthaginians. The article is as usual full of research, and abundantly instructive. —M. Nettlau continues his transcript of the fragment of the *Bain C6 Cuailnge* from the Egerton MS.—M. Dottin gives an account of a valuable Irish MS. preserved in the Municipal Library at Rennes. It originally formed part of the Library Christopher-Paul de Robien, Viscount de Plaintel, which contained more than 4,300 volumes, of which 62 were manuscript, and came into the possession of the Municipality during the Revolution. The MS. in question was examined by the celebrated Irish scholar, Dr. James H. Todd, in 1867, who afterwards described it in the *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* (Vol. I., 66-81). The contents are for the most part religious, such as homilies, theological treatises, and collection of sentences from the Fathers. There are also lives, or fragments of lives of SS. Bridget, Brendan, and Colman, and a collection of legends in prose and verse on the geographical names of Ireland; also an Irish version of the *Voyages of Sir John Mandeville*.—The 'Melanges' is unusually full and interesting. M. Loth has some valuable notes on a number of Celtic words, and on Godfrey of Monmouth and the Book of Landaff.—M. S. Reinach contributes a note on the Cassiterides.—In the *Bibliographie*, Dr. Kuno Meyer returns again to Mr. O'Grady's '*Silva Gadelica*;' this time with a still heavier list of corrections.—The *Chronique* contains, among many other things, a brief but highly appreciative notice of the Rev. F. E. Warren's recently published '*Antiphonary of Bangor*,' according to the Milanese MS.

REVUE DES DEUX MONDES (January, February).—In the number bearing date of the 11th of January, the opening article is a section of the late M. Renan's '*History of the Jews*.' It deals with the Jews under the Roman dominion. In reality, it is a sketch of the reign of Herod, of whom a very vigorous, but by no means flattering portrait is given, but, to the list of whose crimes M. Renan does not add that of having wished to kill the child Jesus. According to him, Jesus was not born when Herod died.—M. Arthur Desjardins contributes a valuable paper entitled '*Socialism and Liberty*.' It is closely reasoned, and most suggestive. Its leading idea is that socialism is really antagonistic to political liberty.—From M. Augustin Filon there is an article on the House of Lords. It is interesting as giving the views of an intelligent and well-informed foreigner, and M. Filon's opinion is that Mr. Glad-

stone has renewed the youth of the House of Lords.—In continuation of his *West Indian Sketches*, M. de Varigny gives an account of life and manners in Cuba and Puerto Rico.—In this and the next number, M. Maurice Bigeon has a literary essay on the works of three Scandinavian novelists, Jonas Lie, Herman Bang, and Arne Garborg.—In the mid-monthly number, M. Gaston Boissier re-appears with one of his interesting and scholarly antiquarian and classical studies. On the present occasion he describes Africa as it was under Roman rule. The study is continued in the number for the 15th February, where a particularly valuable account of Carthage will be found.—An interesting question, that of 'Anachronism in Art,' is discussed by M. Robert de La Sizeranne.—The first of February brings a long article, headed, 'Armed Peace and its Consequences.' The anonymous author, with considerable force and earnestness, shows that the immense armaments of Europe must have one of two results. They must either lead to a disastrous war, of which the horrors and the consequences would be unparalleled in history, or they must in the long run, ruin the nations which maintain them. His own opinion seems to incline to the former of these eventualities.—In the same number there is also an exceedingly able and impartial literary essay on Tocqueville. It bears the signature of M. Emile Faguet, a name which in itself affords a guarantee of excellence both as regards matter and manner.—A sketch of Germany, as M. Michelet saw it in 1842, and an article on castes in India also afford interesting but not engrossing reading.—In the last of the numbers before us the contribution which first attracts attention is the article on which M. Leclerc deals with education in England. It is chiefly notable for the contrast which it draws between the French and English systems, and the preference which, on the whole, he shows for the latter.—Most of the other articles are continued from former numbers, the exceptions being a philosophical paper by M. Fouillée, on character and intellect, and an account by M. Joseph Bédier of the work of the Old French Text Society.

REVUE PHILOSOPHIQUE (February, March).—The first of these two numbers contains only two original papers. One of them, contributed by Dr. P. Janet, gives, under the title, 'Histoire d'une idée fixe,' a long, detailed, and thorough history of a case in which the patient was possessed by a fixed idea—the dread of cholera. The other shows how the well-known law of inertia applies to psychological no less than to physical phenomena.—The 'Revue Générale,' which is a long article, extending over 25 pages, deals with a number of re-

cent works on the history and philosophy of religion. Amongst them may be noticed Professor Caird's 'The Evolution of Religion,' and Professor Huxley's 'Science and Religion.' The writer is M. Maurice Vernes.—The second number opens with a paper headed, 'Researches on the Relations between Sensitiveness and Emotion.' The result arrived at by the writer is that, it is in the cortical vaso-motor centre, a centre not yet determined, but which must be situated in the vicinity of the sensorial centres, and be in relation with the central ganglions, that the phenomenon of emotion is elaborated.—The question of 'Moral Sanction' is discussed in a long article bearing the signature of M. F. Paulham, whose study is not, however, concluded in the present part.—The 'Revue Critique' considers two new works on Descartes.

L'ART (February, March).—The most important contribution to the February part is M. Foucart's sketch of the early years of Pater, the pupil of Watteau, an artist who is perhaps best known in connection with his illustrations of Scarron's 'Roman Comique,' and of La Fontaine's 'Contes.'—There is also an exceedingly able study of the works of Raffet, the well-known painter, who devoted his genius almost exclusively to the illustration of the exploits of the French army.—The mid-monthly number deals with early Scandinavian Art.—A short paper on 'Théodore Chassériau,' and various artistic and dramatic letters make up the remaining contents.—The first of the two numbers for March has a well-illustrated paper on Japanese art. Its chief item, however, is an article on 'William Jacob Delff,' in illustration of which over a dozen excellent reproductions of portraits engraved by him, after paintings by Mierevelt, are given.—The remaining number is chiefly made up of short and rather scrappy papers, readable enough, but of no special interest.

LE MONDE LATIN ET LE MONDE SLAVE (February, March).—Exclusively of the various 'courriers,' or letters, which make up a good half of each number, this review has only two articles and a serial, all continued from one number to the other. Of the articles, that on Tolstoï is of considerable interest; it is well written, and contains a very impartial appreciation of the Russian writer's works.—The other contribution is devoted to some of the most brilliant of Napoleon's cavalry officers.

REVUE DES ETUDES JUIVES (No. 4, 1893).—The first place is given here to the continuation of the late M. Loeb's treatise on the emancipation of the Jews from the political and civic

disabilities under which they so long lay in every country in Europe. The title of the article gives however no indication of the nature of its contents. It is merely headed 'Reflexions sur les Juifs.' This section of the treatise is wholly historical. It goes over the various countries in Europe, and the independent States within some of these, and describes the various movements that finally led up to the complete or partial emancipation of the Jewish communities residing within their bounds. It is a curious and interesting history, and M. Loeb was at great pains to make his account of it as full and precise as possible. The causes that initiated most of the movements are here traced, and the results of them, where they were wholly or only in part successful, are set forth. Only in two countries was complete emancipation conceded all at once, viz., in Holland and in France. In all other countries compromises of various kinds were adopted; certain concessions were made, to be withdrawn shortly afterwards, or to be followed by still larger concessions until, as in England, every legal disability was removed. M. Loeb convincingly shows that the emancipation of the Jews everywhere was not only deserved by the Jews in the various lands of their adoption, but has proved of the greatest advantage to these latter in every way.—Most of the articles that follow are of much less general interest, though historically valuable, or of importance to those deeply versed in Rabbinic lore. We may mention the titles of them here, in order to give what space we have at our disposal, to the article that stands at the end of this number, and which is more likely to attract general attention. 'L'Affaire Bourgeois, 1652,' by M. Israël Levi; 'Jacob Mantini,' continued from last number, by M. D. Kaufmann; 'Gloses romanes dans des écrits rabbiniques,' by M. Immanuel Loew; 'Influence de Raschi et d'autres commentateurs juifs sur les *Postillæ perpetuæ* de Nicolas de Lyre,' by M. Neumann; 'Les troupes de Maréchal de Belle-Isle et les Juifs du Comtat-Venaissin,' by M. J. Bauer. Under 'Notes et Mélanges,' come shorter papers on 'L'emploi du *lamed* en araméen biblique devant le complément direct,' by M. M. Lambert; and 'Saadia et Hiwi Albalchi,' by M. Kaufmann.—The article which closes this number, and appears under 'Actes et Conférences,' is a Lecture delivered by M. Jean Réville before the Société des Etudes Juives, on November 23rd, 1893. It is entitled 'La Resurrection d'une Apocalypse—Le Livre d'Hénoch.' M. Réville here first differentiates an apocalypse from all the other literature that comes under the title of Revelation, and regards those preserved to us as of very exceptional value, as disclosing the circumstances of the times in which they were

produced, and the dreams and hopes cherished by at least a large class of the thinkers and spiritual leaders among the Jewish, or Jewish-Christian people. 'Apocalypses,' he says, are for us valuable testimonies of the past, not of a past indifferent to us, or which does not affect us, but of a past in which the roots of all that is best in your faith and mine, of all which is most near, living and sacred in our moral being, were rooted — of a past with which are most directly connected our faith and our loftiest hopes.'—M. J. Réville spiritedly defends the writers of these apocalypses from the charge of falsehood, in our modern sense of the term, because they attributed their works to the revered heroes of a hoary antiquity, or to men to whom tradition assigned conspicuous virtues in times of trouble. The truth of which they were assured and which they longed to communicate was in their eyes everything. They themselves were not of the slightest importance. To them the message alone was of importance, and their one all-absorbing aim was to get that message listened to, and its counsel and comfort accepted. And M. Réville dryly adds, 'We know more than one of our contemporaries who would never write a line under such conditions, because the only interesting thing to them in what they write is that it is written by themselves.' Coming to the Apocalypse of Enoch, he shows the repute Enoch enjoyed in the legendary lore of the Hebrews, and how natural it therefore was that the authors of such visions should fix on him, and put their works forward as his. Many did this and several of their works have, because bearing his name, been combined to form the one that has been preserved to us. They were written originally in the Hebrew, or in the more popular Aramaic, but were speedily translated into Greek, and in the Greek tongue had a wide circulation. That version, as well as the original, in the course of time disappeared, and the work in any form was long thought to have been lost for ever. Two copies of the Apocalypse, however, in the Ethiopic tongue were found by Mr. Bruce, the Scottish traveller, in 1773, in Abyssinia, and M. Réville here details the history of the discoveries and translations of the work since, culminating in that of 1886-87 of a part of the Greek text in a tomb at Akhmin. He then gives a summary of the contents of the Apocalypse itself, and a critical appreciation of its importance, as showing the currents of thought prevailing in the Jewish community prior to the birth of Christianity.

REVUE SEMITIQUE D'EPIGRAPHIE ET D'HISTOIRE ANCIENNE.
(No. 1, 1894).—M. J. Halévy continues here his 'Notes pour

l'interprétation des Psaumes.' It is Psalm vii. which he subjects in this number to a minute and critical examination. The text of this Psalm has also, he thinks, suffered from the mistakes of copyists, and the unwise emendations of redactors, though not to such an extent as so many of the others. Where, however, obscurity exists, he sets himself to find out the probable cause—the mistake in transcription, as it may be, on the part of the former, or the blunder committed by the latter. In the title or heading of the Psalm, the word 'Shiggaion' has proved somewhat perplexing. M. Halévy thinks that, as the word was the name of a musical instrument, it may also have been given to the kind of song which that instrument was used to accompany. Guided by the Assyrian word *segu*, a 'prayer,' and by the nature of the two Psalms that are headed 'Shiggaion,' he thinks this term was applied to such prayer-songs as, in gentle, plaintive strains, expressed confidence in personal rectitude, and the assured hope of a speedy return of good fortune. He suggests some corrections in the text of verses 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7. The mistakes in copying (if they be mistakes) were likely enough to be made, and the corrections offered are at least happy ones. Between verse 7 and verse 8 there is an unexpected break in the continuity of thought, which, he says, no exegetic artifice has as yet succeeded in removing. The solution of the difficulty which he offers is this—only his argument should be read in his own words before judgment is pronounced on it. Some verses have been accidentally omitted in transcription here, and these omitted verses have been placed at the beginning of the next Psalm, or after the close of this one. These verses are out of place where they now are. Inserted, however, (if verse 2 is omitted which does not belong to them) between verse 7 and verse 8 of this Psalm, harmony is restored to both Psalms. That is, verses 1, 3, and 4 of Psalm viii. formed originally part of Psalm vii., and stood after verse 7. This procedure may seem arbitrary, but M. Halévy gives weighty reasons for what he here suggests. The whole Psalm is gone over in this same critical spirit, and then a translation of it, as amended by him is given, with the omitted verses replaced.—The next article is the continuation of his transcriptions and translations of the Tel-el-Amarna Correspondence Tablets. The letters here given are all from those in the possession of the British Museum, and the numbers under which they are catalogued there are given for identification and comparison.—In a third article, which is in connection with his studies of the two Hittite or Hetean Inscriptions, found recently at Zindjirli, he sets before us what these inscriptions teach us as to the religious ideas entertained by that ancient

Semitic people—the gods they worshipped and their beliefs as to a future state. Under the first section, headed ‘Panthéon,’ he takes the deities mentioned in the inscriptions *seriatim*, and examines their names and attributes, comparing them, where they were already known to us from Scripture or elsewhere, with what is there said of them. Some of these deities were, however, hitherto unknown to the Semitic student. In the second section, headed ‘Eschatologie,’ he gives a brief account of his earlier efforts to vindicate for the Jews the knowledge of or the belief in a future life, where virtue finds its rewards in blessedness, and vice its punishments for its iniquities. Then he shows how these inscriptions corroborate his early contentions, though they were scouted by such *savants* as Renan and J. Derenbourg as absurd and ridiculous. In an appendix, he notices at considerable length the recent work of Herr Albrecht Dieterich—‘Beitrag zur Erklärung der neu entdeckten Petrus apokalypse,’—and shows how the Greek conceptions of the future life were related to those entertained by the ancient Egyptians and Babylonians.—M. C. Huart, under the title ‘Epigraphie arabe d’Asie Mineure,’ gives a number of inscriptions discovered there, and which belong to the times of the Seljukians. They are accompanied by translations and notes.—M. A. Boissier has a short paper on ‘Nebukadnezar Ier.’—M. Perruchon continues his ‘Notes pour l’Histoire d’Ethiopie,’ and M. J. Halévy prints the text of an inscription on a sacrophagus in the Museum at Gizeh—‘Une Inscription minéenne gravée sur un sarcophage égyptien’—with translation and notes.

SWITZERLAND.

BIBLIOTHÈQUE UNIVERSELLE ET REVUE SUISSE (January, February, March).—The first of these three numbers opens with a paper in which M. Ernest Naville indicates the new words adopted by the French Academy. The writer, it scarcely needs to be said, does not limit himself to a mere enumeration; he gives interest to his investigation by pointing out the circumstances to which the new terms owe their origin and their popularity, and thus to a certain extent makes his study of words a study of the development of civilization.—In this and the next number, M. Henri Jacottet gives an account of the Chicago Exhibition. The article has the merit of being well and brightly written, which, considering all that has already been said on the subject, is perhaps the only merit to which it could aspire.—The evolution of politeness is made the subject of an interesting essay by M. Léo Quesnel, who not

only indicates the various forms and formulas which have obtained, and still obtain, in civilized and uncivilized countries, but also the sentiments upon which they are founded, and to which they originally gave expression.—The last item, not including light literature, which is well represented, or the usual and delightful chroniques, is a sketch entitled *Ellen Keller*. It is based on the American work, '*Helen Keller: Souvenir of the first Summer Meeting of the American Association to promote the teaching of speech to the deaf*,' and gives an account of the education of a deaf, dumb, and blind girl.—In the February part, M. Emile Yung heads the contents with a paper in which he indicates the scope and the method of comparative psychology, that science which has for its object to utilise the lower animals for psychological research in the same way as they have been utilized for the solution of anatomical and physiological problems.—In an article of very general interest, M. C. Bühner gives an account of the working of meteorological offices, and enables the reader to understand what an immense amount of both labour and expense it entails to produce the daily 'weather reports' with which he is so familiar, and of which he does not always appreciate the value.—M. Auguste Glardon again devotes an article to contemporary English novelists; this time, however, the English novelist is American, to wit, Mary Wilkins, the author of, amongst others, '*A Humble Romance*,' '*A far away Melody*,' and '*A New-England Nun*.'—March brings, as the first contribution to a most readable number, a sketch of the career of the late General Herzog, who for thirty years was at the head of the Confederate army establishment. It is interesting throughout, but particularly in those parts which relate how he acquitted himself of the delicate duties thrown upon him by the Franco-German War.—The life and work of the Hindoo woman is dealt with at considerable length by M. V. de Floriant, in an article which, though interesting in itself, and for those to whom the subject may be new, will not have much novelty for English readers. Indeed, it is founded on works with which many of them may be assumed to be fairly familiar, such as Lady Dufferin's '*Our Vice-regal Life*,' Mrs. Dale's '*Biography of Mrs. Joshee*,' and Mrs. Chapman's '*Some Distinguished Indian Women*.'—'*Le Bilan de la Politique Européenne*,' is a valuable political article in which M. Ed. Tallichet reviews the political situation. It is, on the whole, characterized by an optimistic spirit, and altogether at variance with the opinions of those who anticipate national complications in the near future.

SPAIN.

LA ESPAÑA MODERNA—*Revista de España*—(January).—A new tale by Emilia Pardo Bazan, entitled 'Adam and Eve,' commences in the January number. There is a 'prologue in heaven' in a very *fin de siècle* spirit, and the lady otherwise writes with a freedom we are not yet accustomed to.—An article on 'Explosives' by Echegaray is well written and cleverly suggestive.—A notice of the life and works of 'José Maria Quadrad' to be an introduction to his publishing works, introduces us to a personality little known here, although a voluminous and able writer of Palma de Mallorca.—Some curious and interesting notices regarding Don Quixote are brought together, some—such as Lope de Vega's preliminary criticism—are difficult to explain.—'The Conquest of Melilla in 1497' is an interesting historic paper of a little known region. The causes of its non-extension, to include all Mauritania to the Atlas Mountains, at the time of Spain's splendour, is well explained.—'Anarchy and Social defence' proposes that all this class who may be honestly socialistic should be sent to some out of the way island, to work out their own no-system, where they can do no harm to any but themselves.—Castelar cannot understand how the French Ministry coquettes with socialism, and he quotes approvingly Cleveland's saying, that 'individuals should support and feed the State, not the State individuals.' He refers to the augmentation of the British fleet as not necessary, considering our unquestionable superiority.—The 'Literary Impressions' of Villegas are good. He may place the work of Echegaray, the dramatist, too high, but he writes with knowledge, and the Spanish drama can compare favourably with any. There is more real power and human sympathy in Echegaray than in Ibsen, undoubtedly.—A Catalogue of New Works in Spanish completes a national number, that has only Gladstone's paper on Blanco White to make it otherwise.—(February).—'Adam and Eve' is continued, with much of that provincial dialect that renders our modern writers in all languages somewhat difficult to read, for those who only know the classic speech. Compoamor's distiches comprise such sayings as

'She only thought of him, but now she is his spouse,
She speaks with him—but her thoughts are elsewhere,'

trifling little fancies for the most part.—'The loves of the King Don Alfonso XII' is a little insight into a Spanish romance.—Echegaray continues his paper on 'Explosives,' written with picturesque effect.—'Torquemada in La Cruz' is not the famous inquisitor, but a novel by Galdós, one of the

most capable of Spanish creative authors. It is a story of modern customs, new characters of to-day, and is here very fully criticised and quoted.—The Medical jury and the case of Varela, is a careful consideration of a now notable case in Madrid, where the cause of the 'culpable homicide' was argued by medicals with very unsatisfactory results.—The Standard and Chests of Oquendo' recalls the glories of the generations of those great sea captains, who gave their services to their fatherland.—Historical figures all.—Castelar's 'International Chronicle' regrets the frustration 'of a measure so much desired in the world, as the indispensable autonomy of the Irish people.' He looks dolorously upon Austria, and considers Servia a thorn in its side.—'Literary Impressions' speaks in high terms of the dramatic work of Galdós, 'La de San Quintín,' which was received with enthusiasm by his countrymen.—Other new novels are noted.—An extensive critical review of recent issues, a continuation of Gladstone's 'Blanco White,' and a list of new works, complete a number that continues markedly national.—(March).—'Spain in the Bible,' by the Bishop of Oricó, is an interesting and exhaustive enquiry into the meaning of the word *Tarschisch*, which in a Spanish Vulgate is variously translated *Sea* and *Tharsis*, and has been claimed for *Tarso* in Cilicia. The balance of proof is in favour of *Tartesia*, the ancient name of Southern Spain, which answers all demands of all the texts.—'Head and Heart' by Campoamor, is a graceful versification to Blanca Quiroga and Pardo Bazán.—In 'The Education of the King' an important question to Spain is raised, the writer not being desirous of seeing a return to *The Prince* of Macchiavel.—Truly the education of a modern King, of a constitutional King, of a King in a democratic society like the society of our times, is a difficult question, not only to settle now, but even to plant.—Dr. Thebussem enlarges on 'Green.'—Lo Verde—and commences by showing Cervantes' predilection for this colour, bringing also numerous quotations from other authors to show its influence, which seems to signify 'feasting, joy, and hope.'—The five love-letters of the Portuguese nun Mariana Alcofurado to the Count of Chamilly, captain in the French Army, are the usual rhapsodies of an immature female controlled by her imagination.—Emilia Pardo Bazán continues her novel, which, as she is the foremost imaginative writer of modern Spain, is worthy of careful study.—An interesting 'Critical Review' by the Dean of Faculty of Madrid University is summarised by Menéndez y Pelayo.—Castelar warns us that Europe is most occupied at present with economic questions and retrenchment—France and Italy being both in trouble, and Germany only crying out

less. Anarchy is forcing the democracy of the Continent to think carefully, and while formerly they dreaded demagoguery, they now fear this new terror. He rightly attributes it to the Russians escaped from Siberia, who carry their hatred of a tyranny to the hatred of all law and order. 'I have seen no one who summarises like Bakounine anarchical chaos in the intellect with despotic power in the will. He orders with hauteur to destroy all order with violence.'—In a review of a work of Pardo Bazan's in 'Literary Impressions,' she is taken to task only for her protests against the condition of women in Spain. The critic remarks of this popular novelist: 'At least Senora Pardo Bazan must allow, that in literature as in the State, the Salic law does not rule in Spain!'—'Blanco White,' translated from Mr. Gladstone's study, is completed this number.—The 'New Works' issued are now given monthly, which will enable a student to choose his material with facility.

HOLLAND.

DE GIDS.—The paper begun in January on the 'Revival of Catholicism in North Netherland about the beginning of the 17th Century' is continued by Prof. Fruin in the February number. In the first part he showed how at that date it seemed probable to many that Catholicism, suppressed as it was, might altogether die out in some of the States. The suppression was necessary as Catholics were all at the service of the arch enemy of the country. The Catholic clergy high and low had sunk into the deepest degradation—almost all openly lived with concubines, many had obtained their livings by simony—others it is said in the spirit of the unjust steward formed the deliberate resolution 'I cannot dig, to beg I am ashamed—I shall become a heretical preacher.' Nevertheless a study of the annals of the time and of various sources of information recently opened up shows that in reality this time of apparent decadence was a time during which a revival was beginning. The impulse came from Germany, but the man who did most to forward the revival in Holland was Sasbout Vosmeer, a man of no great talent but whose zeal and success won him from the Pope the appointment of Vicar Apostolic in 1592. This dignity brought trouble in the shape of resistance to his authority in the Bishopric of Haarlem and as a sequel the first serious persecution of Catholics by the States in 1601-2. The Vicar-general Eggius was taken prisoner, but was not, as alleged, tortured. Vosmeer continued to rule his diocese from Cöln where he settled till his death in 1615. He accomplished the thorough reorganisation of Dutch Catholicism, with

a new hierarchy and won back much that seemed hopelessly lost. The article gives many interesting details of Church visitations, of the relations of Catholics to Oldenbarneveldt, of the operations of the Jesuits in the period indicated and the paper is altogether a fascinating historical study.—In February, March and April numbers Louis Couperus gives a series of picturesque 'Impressions of Travel' in Italy; the art and architecture of Rome, the scenery of Naples and Corfu and various other places being sympathetically and freshly reviewed.—Professor Hubrecht gives an account of the Dutch Expedition to Central Borneo which is now on foot and from which much is expected.—A well written article by Ovink (Feb.) discusses in many different lights the interesting theme 'The Enjoyment of Music.'—Another paper is devoted to the review of Groenewegen's 'Potgieter.'—The celebration of the 70th birthday of Josef Israëls is the occasion of a sketch of the life and work of this great artist and poet by H. Zilcken. In his pictures whether of shadow and sadness or of light and joy like his 'Children of the Sea' Israëls is both realist and idealist. He was the first Dutch painter of the century who learned to see in a poor mother, a wretched worn-out boor, a desolate room far more human feeling and suffering than in romantic pseudo-dramatic figures. His drawing, sometimes censured, is really perfect and of the tenderest gradations of light and shade he is master. He began life amidst most unpropitious and sordid environments but his artistic bent forced a way to fame.—Mr. N. P. Van den Berg gives (March and April) in two parts a discussion on the Currency Question in British India, but does not contribute much that is new to English readers.—Byvanck contributes an interesting chapter out of the life of Isaac da Costa referring to his friendship with the young and chivalrous Willem de Clercy who in a great measure helped to bring about the conversion of the former to Christianity.—A theological article by Loman follows under the title of 'A new voyage of discovery in search of the origin of Christianity.' This is a review of Dr. W. Brandt's work 'The Gospel History and Origin of Christianity.' Brandt is a Dutchman, Professor at Amsterdam, but wrote in German, in order to secure a larger circle of readers. His book is full of very pregnant suggestions and very novel chronological data, and deserves attention, though in other respects there are many defects in it.—April number contains 'The dream of a life-time' by Cyriel Buyse, an extremely painful picture of the last days of a 'martyr to labour.' First there is a description of the inhuman conditions of labour in a beet factory where men have to turn over the sliced beet in a killing atmosphere of reeking hot vapour. The

man and his son have just almost attained a long dreamt of hope to be independent of beggary in the winter and to keep a pig when the father succumbs and is carried home from his work to die in prolonged agony, a martyr to the horrible tyranny of the existing social conditions.—Max Rooses gives an account of the *Kalewala* the national epic of the Finns.—A much vexed question in Holland for some years back is the state of the Orphan Institution at Neerbosch. The founder, Heer van t'Lindenhou, published in 1888 a review of its history during 25 years, and recently a commission has reported upon it. The editor of the *Gids* sums up the evidence in the sentence that Neerbosch both in respect of education and of hygiene is thoroughly to be condemned. The founder's history is remarkable. After a godless youth he is converted, and as colporteur and evangelist he travels all over the country. From England he got the idea of an orphan asylum, and set one up trusting that in answer to prayer the Lord would provide. This was in 1863. Up till 1869, when the institution was moved from Nymegen to Neerbosch, the normal condition was to be on the brink of starvation, but gradually prosperity came, and when another branch was added 'the healing of sick by prayer,' the institution became famous. As many as 1100 children were maintained from six months old up till they reached the age of adults, and that is the present number. The report of the commission which was appointed to investigate the management is far from being adverse in tone, yet makes very damaging admissions, for example, 60 per cent. of the orphans die of consumption, but the supply is as unfailing as is the faith of the subscribers to this pious institution.—A. S. Kok writes interestingly on 'Dante's Beatrice,' Scartazinni being his chief source.—'Professor Buys in his *Might*,' by Heemskerk is a review of a newly published collection of articles by the late professor on political and social subjects.

THEOLOGISCH TIJDSCHRIFT (March).—This number opens with a paper by Dr. L. Knappert, whose former papers on Frisian Paganism we gratefully remember, on the life of S. Gallus, missionary in the spot in northern Switzerland which still bears his name. A MS. in the splendid library which now occupies the ancient convent, gives the text, and Dr. Knappert discourses, in connection with it, on the Paganism of that part of the world just before Christianity took its place, and on various points of Teutonic mythology and folklore. We have a sketch of Gallus' early life, his coming from Ireland, his missionary labours in France and in the Vosges, his going further east because of the troubled state of the realm of the Merovingians, till he passes Zürich and begins to have dealings

with the heathen worship of these regions. He is said to have burned the heathen temples, which is strange, if, as is generally thought, the Teutons had no temples; and to have destroyed the idols; but the Teutons had no idols. This leads to discussion, and the conclusion is reached, that though no German idols have survived, such things did once exist, and that in various parts of Germany worship was paid to a trinity of gods, not always the same gods, who were thus represented and lodged. At Bregenz, on the Bodensee, there was in early centuries a chapel sacred to the Christian S. Aurelia; but the Alemanni expelled that saint, and by the time of S. Gallus had set up in her chapel the worship of three goddesses of their own, Einbetta, Worbetta, and Wilbetta, were their harmonious names. These are compared with the three Norns of Iceland and other trinities of mother-goddesses found in other districts of early Teutondom. This interesting temple with its goddesses S. Gallus destroyed, restoring it to its earlier Christian use. Stories follow which have considerable interest. The country to which Gallus has come is full of demons, and the missionary, fishing in the lake during the night, hears the demon of the hill crying to the demon of the deep to come and help him against the strangers who have cast him out of his temple. Gallus tells his abbot, who bans the demons, and a *vox fantasmatica* is heard with howls and cries, amid which the demons take their departure from the land which has so long been theirs. Dr. Knappert becomes very tiresome in discussing this piece of early poetry, and goes into a long proof that these demons are giants, and that Switzerland, like other lands in which natural phenomena are on a large scale, is a region in which giants might be expected to flourish. The heathen Alemanni therefore believed in giants. Then we have arguments about Teutonic magic, about bears, which abounded in Switzerland and had to do with totemism, about mermaids who appeared to the monks at their fishing; were they mermaids, or nixes, or what? There is a story of the expulsion of a demon from a young lady in a castle of the neighbourhood; the features of the story closely resembling those of the Gadarene narrative in the Gospels. On the whole a very interesting paper.—Then follows a discussion by Dr. Eerdmann, of Leiden, of the expression 'Son of Man,' in the Gospels. The Messianic significance of the phrase as used before the time of Jesus, and as used by Him, is denied. 'Son of Man' in the Aramaic of that day means a man, no more, and if Jesus used it of Himself, it could have no Messianic significance. The Evangelists certainly gave it this significance, but this was because they did not understand it; in several of the passages,

notably Matt., xii., 8, the Messianic tone given to the narrative destroys its point, which was originally in this instance to the effect that men as men are not intended to be enslaved to outward ordinances. As used in Daniel and Enoch the phrase has nothing Messianic about it, and so was it in the sources out of which the Gospels were made.—This paper is followed by another on the same subject by Dr. van Manen, who directly contradicts all Dr. Eerdmann has said; a rather peculiar arrangement. Prof. Kuenen's lectures on Ethics have been printed from the notes of some of his pupils: they thought him greater in Ethics than in Hebrew. The volume, however, produced in so disadvantageous a way, does not appear to be a great success. Prof. Max Müller's 'Psychological Religion,' and the Gifford Lectures of the Master of Balliol are both spoken of with high praise.

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

The Incarnation and Common Life. By BROOKE FOSS WESTCOTT, D.D., D.C.L., Bishop of Durham. London and New York: Macmillan & Co.

This volume consists of a series of sermons and addresses written and delivered by Dr. Westcott in his new position as Bishop of Durham. 'If can very rarely happen,' he remarks, 'that one who has spent long and busy years as student and teacher should be suddenly called at the close to life to the oversight of a diocese in which the problems of modern life are presented in the most urgent and impressive form.' Nevertheless, it sometimes does happen, and the admirable manner in which Dr. Westcott has endeavoured to solve the practical problems which he has had to face since his elevation to the Episcopacy, affords an excellent proof that while discharging the duties of one position, a man may be receiving an education calculated to fit him for the efficient discharge of the duties of another, and higher. The sermons and addresses here gathered together are all of a practical character, and deal with some of the most pressing questions of the day. They are pervaded by one doctrine, a doctrine which during recent years Dr. Westcott has done so much to elucidate, the doctrine of the Incarnation. His chief aim seems to be to show how it bears upon the affairs of everyday life, how it meets each new want of man as it arises, and gains fresh force from the growth of human knowledge. The first paper is the sermon which the Bishop delivered on the occasion of his enthronement, and has for its title, 'Fellowship in Intercession,' a title sufficiently suggestive of its contents and bearing when we say that the fellowship to which it refers is that of the vast organism of social life, as well as of the Christian Church. The second is the address which the author delivered at the Diocesan Conference at Darlington in October, 1891, and deals with the social obligations of a National Church. Next we have two addresses devoted to the Incarnation as a revelation of human duties. Others again deal with such topics as the Family, Ideals, Christian Action, Almsgiving, the Consecration of the Teacher. There is also the now well known address which Bishop Westcott delivered at the Church Congress in Hull a little more than three years ago on Socialism, as also the paper on the Educational Value of Co-operation, and the one on the Method, Aim, and Sanction of Co-operation. The volume indeed addresses itself to an increasing circle of readers, and is remarkable at once for the broad and generous spirit of Christian charity by which it is pervaded, and for the wise and noble utterances it contains. As a contribution to practical religion it may be almost said to stand alone.

Religion in History and in Modern Life, together with an Essay on the Church and the Working Classes. By A. M. FAIRBAIRN, D.D. London: Hodder and Stoughton. 1894.

The lectures in this volume were delivered a number of years ago, by the author, to the working men of Bradford, and have apparently been for some time out of print. They have been reprinted at the urgent request of a number of the author's friends, and will doubtless be acceptable to his admirers. Their chief value is in showing what their author thought on

the subjects handled in his earlier and, as some think, bolder years. At anyrate they contain a number of clear and vigorously expressed thoughts on a subject which is of permanent interest, and of which Dr. Fairbairn was even then well qualified by his previous studies to speak. As for the present issue of the lectures, its main value lies in the fact that they are preceded by an essay, of very considerable importance, on the relation of the working classes to the Church, and on the duty of the Church towards the working classes. In this there is a considerable amount of plain-speaking, to which all sections of the Christian Church may well take heed. Dr. Fairbairn has had a large experience and is an acute observer of Church life, and has mixed much with the working classes as one interested in their welfare and in the advancement of religion among them, and is well entitled to be heard as an authority. The tone of the essay is far from despondent. The author has a profound faith in the mission of Christianity, and notwithstanding the present attitude of the working-classes towards the Church, believes that they have not yet lost the sense of their need for religion, and that there are evident signs that a movement is setting in among them towards it. The causes of their alienation are acutely discussed, and valuable suggestions are thrown out for their conciliation.

The Gospel According to Peter: A Study. By the Author of *Supernatural Religion*. London and New York: Longmans, Green, & Co. 1894.

In this volume the well-known author of *Supernatural Religion* enters into a critical examination of the fragment found at Akhm, and which has recently attracted so much attention. As might be expected, studying the subject from his own peculiar point of view, his opinions are at variance with those which have been arrived at by those who belong to the more orthodox schools of theology. The conclusions to which he has been led are as follows:—'In so far as the Gospel according to Peter is concerned, the impartial verdict must be: It is neither better nor worse than the more fortunate works which have found a safe resting-place within the Canon of the Church. It is almost impossible now to judge of these works as we judge the fragment. Centuries of reverence, and individual habit of hearing their contents with docility and with bated criticism, have rendered most of us incapable of judging the effect which a good part of their contents would make upon us if, like the fragment of Akhm, they had been freshly discovered yesterday. There is no canonical glamour to veil its shortcomings, and it must not be forgotten that, in this short fragment, we have none of those parts of the Gospel, such as the Sermon on the Mount and some of the parables, which contain so much noble teaching, and render the literature so precious. Then, as we have before pointed out, the canonical Gospels, in their greater circulation and in the process of reception by the Church, secured a gradual revision which might have smoothed away any roughness from the Gospel of Peter had it been equally fortunate. The three Synoptic Gospels are so closely dependent on each other, or on the same sources, as to be practically one work, and although this renders all the more remarkable certain indications of selection, some of which we have pointed out, it nevertheless limits our acquaintance with early belief. It is the merit of the fragment that it presents considerable variation in the original sources, and shows us the fluidity of the early reports of that which was supposed to take place during the period which it embraces. We have in it a primitive and less crystallised form of the Christian tradition.' The text of the fragment is given together with a translation.

Ethic. Translated from the Latin of Benedict de Spinoza. By W. HALE WHITE. Translation Revised by AMELIA HUTCHISON STIRLING, M.A. Second Edition. Revised and Corrected, with New Preface. London: T. Fisher Unwin. 1894.

Mr. Hale White's translation of Spinoza's great work is well known. It attracted considerable attention when it was first published, and seems to have lost none of the favour with which it was then received. In its present issue it has undergone a very careful revision, Mr. White having had the assistance of Miss Hutchison Stirling. Some blemishes have been removed, and the effect has been to make the translation clearer. Spinoza is not easy to translate, as those who have studied him for themselves are aware. Very often he is extremely difficult; not so much, however, on account of his language as on account of his thought. The difficulty in fact is to know exactly what he means, and as Mr. White more than hints, it is doubtful at times whether Spinoza himself was quite clear as to his meaning, or, if he was, was sufficiently master of the art of expression to put his precise meaning into words capable of conveying it clearly to the minds of his readers. That he has always made the thought of his author clear, notwithstanding his renewed attempt and the assistance of his reviser, Mr. White does not presume to think, and candidly warns his readers that here and there he may have failed, and pleads in extenuation that Spinoza himself is not clear. The feature of this new edition, however, is the admirable Preface which Mr. White has prepared for it. Here, after a brief sketch of Spinoza's life, founded on that by Colerus, Mr. White briefly but clearly analyses the Short Treatise on God, the Tractatus de Emendatione, the Principia, and the Tractatus Theologico-politicus, and discusses their relation to the doctrines laid down in the *Ethic*. The analysis of the *Ethic* is much fuller, and is to a large extent expository. Mr. White, however, by no means undertakes to expound everything the *Ethic* contains. 'There is much in it,' he says, 'which is insoluble.' Still his exposition will be found extremely useful. So far as it goes it is admirably lucid and forms an excellent introduction to the study both of the *Ethic* itself and to the rest of Spinoza's works.

A History of the Papacy during the Period of the Reformation. By M. CREIGHTON, D.D., Oxon. and Cam., Lord Bishop of Peterborough. Vol. V., The German Revolt, 1517-1527. London and New York: Longmans, Green, & Co. 1894.

The period covered by this volume was only of ten years duration. They were years, however, which were pregnant with great issues both for the Papacy and the world. Their history has often been written. Catholics and Protestants alike have written it, but neither of them with that absolute and admirable impartiality desired and aimed at by the present Lord Rector of the University of St. Andrews. Were it not for the names their versions would at times scarcely be recognisable as narratives of one and the same series of events. Dr. Creighton's narrative, however, may claim to be an exception. The probability is that it will satisfy neither party. Its calmness and judicial tone are admirable, while the desire to be impartial is evident on every page. The volume opens with a chapter on Humanism in Germany, in which German Humanism is sharply contrasted with the Italian. In Italy, Dr. Creighton remarks, the revival of classical learning had occupied men's minds with the study of human character and the pur-

suit of beauty ; the temper it had produced was irreligious without being anti-religious, and curious, observant, and critical, without being constructive. 'Men,' he says, 'lived and learned and enjoyed their lives ; of course the Church and its services were part of general culture, and were accepted as such. Few thought of attacking, and few aspired to reform them. Churchmen in Italy were as much affected by the new movement as were laymen. The new learning was patronised by Popes, Cardinals, and Bishops, and influenced all classes of society alike. There was everywhere an atmosphere of cultivated toleration ; if a man professed old-fashioned piety as a rule of life, he was free to pursue it ; if not, he might enjoy himself at his ease and think what he liked.' Thus, what Italy gained was not so much a system or a method as a mental attitude, which, when transplanted, assumed different shapes and produced different types of thought and different views of life. The first country into which the Italian impulse was admitted was Germany, but in admitting the impulse Germany did not absorb the Italian spirit. As Dr. Creighton points out, 'The new learning won its way gradually through students, teachers, and universities ; it was not carried home to the minds of the people by a great outburst of art and architecture, by the pomp and pageantry of princely and municipal life, such as dazzled the eyes of the Italians. It came from above, and won its way by conflict with old institutions and old modes of thought. The result was that it wore from the beginning the appearance of a reforming and progressive system, which proposed new modes of teaching and criticised existing methods.' 'Moreover,' Dr. Creighton continues, 'in Germany there had been a quiet but steady current of conservative reform in ecclesiastical matters, which had created an amount of seriousness not to be found in Italy, and was too powerful to be neglected by the leaders of a new movement.' There had been a continuous attempt to deal by personal perseverance with acknowledged evils, and a succession of men who in their own ways laboured to heighten the religious and social life of the people. With these men the new learning had to reckon. At first it wore the aspect of an aid to their endeavours, and was valued by them as suggesting a method. The consequence was that between the Italian and German points of view there was a wide difference—a breach which neither party clearly recognised, and which prevented them from understanding each other when the crisis came. Geiger, we believe, was the first to point out this distinction. Great and deserved prominence is here given to it. It may be said, indeed, to furnish the key-note to the volume. Among the early leaders of German Humanism Dr. Creighton enumerates Johann Wessel, Nicholas Cusa, Rudolf Agricola, Sebastian Brant, Conrad Peutinger, Wilibald Pirckheimer, Conrad Celtis, and Conrad Mutianus Rufus, and incidentally refers to the effect which the new learning had upon the Universities of Germany. The second chapter deals with the Reuchlin controversy. The *Epistola Obscurorum Virorum* receive considerable attention. With respect to their authorship, the opinion followed is that of Strauss, who assigns the first book chiefly to Crotus Rubianus, and the second book, with the additions to the 1516 edition of the first book, to Ulrich von Hutten. Of Luther, who first appears in the third chapter of the volume, Dr. Creighton is not an indiscriminate admirer. On the other hand, he is far from exonerating Cajetan from blame. Speaking of his interviews with the Reformer towards the end of 1518, he says, 'they ought to have taught him that he was dealing with no ordinary man ; that Luther had a powerful nature which was bound to find utterance ; that he had a genius for the expression of religious sentiment ; that he was not an Academician defending a thesis, but a teacher with a profound sense of the responsibility of

his task. It is true that a trained theologian might discern in Luther dangerous tendencies of which he himself was not conscious, but that foresight should have impressed him with the need of caution. It was not that Luther had no wish to rebel, but was not to be reduced to silence by the mere command of authority. Friendly mediation had induced him to admit that in some things he had spoken unadvisedly, and to promise silence for a time. If Cajetan had seized upon this concession, if even now he had expressed any sympathy, if he had given him an assurance of kindly consideration at the Papal Court, if he had tried still further to narrow the issue which had been raised, much might have been averted. This, however, was what he failed to do. 'He was an official,' Dr. Creighton remarks, 'to whom obedience was the supreme duty, and as Luther refused to revoke his opinions as fully as he demanded, he would have no further dealings with him.' With respect to Luther's attitude towards the Peasants' War, Dr. Creighton is somewhat hesitating; nevertheless he admits that the language which Luther used on the occasion is 'startling,' that 'his impetuous temper carried him beyond all bounds,' and that 'he had no pity for his misguided followers.' The volume concludes with a chapter on the Sack of Rome. The Popes whose lives are narrated are, besides that of Leo X., Adrian VI., and Clement VII. Here and there throughout the volume we get passing but vivid glimpses of the literary and social movements of the time, and an Appendix is added, containing a number of important documents. From beginning to end the volume is of profound interest, and in many respects the most important of the series.

Les Premiers Habitants de l'Europe d'après les Ecrivains de l'Antiquité et les Travaux des Linguistes. Par H. D'ARBOIS DE JUBAINVILLE, Membre de l'Institut. Seconde Edition. Tome II. Paris: Thorin & Fils. 1894.

In the first volume of this learned and remarkably instructive work, M. D'Arbois de Jubainville dealt first with the non-Indo-European races which inhabited Europe, and afterwards entered upon a discussion as to the various branches of the Aryan race which succeeded them. In the present volume the subject is still the members of the Indo-European family. Archæological discussions are here as in the first volume avoided, and the author confines himself to such evidence as is to be found in the writers of antiquity, and in the names of rivers, mountains, and places. Not the least interesting part of the volume, however, is the Preface, where M. D'Arbois de Jubainville sets himself to demolish the idea current among German as well as French writers, that modern France is wholly descended from the Celts or Gauls who inhabited the country at the beginning of the Christian era, and of whom one hears so much in the writings of Cæsar and others. According to M. D'Arbois de Jubainville, the Gauls or Celts have not in all probability contributed so much as a twentieth part of the physical factors which enter into the structure of the Frenchman of to-day, while, when it is a question as to the intellectual sources whence the moral life of the nation has been derived, they ought scarcely to be counted. Other and less known peoples preceded them and were conquered by them, and it is from these rather than from the Celts that almost all the blood which runs in the veins of the French nation has been derived. The country now called France, says our author, has seen four civilisations succeed each other, and has been inhabited successively (1) by the Quaternary Man; (2) by the Cave men, ignorant of metals, but acquainted with the art of design; (3) by a population to whom the use

of the metals was known, who reared the megalithic monuments and buried their dead in the dolmens ; (4) by a people yet more civilised, who practised cremation and deposited the ashes of their dead in urns which they buried under artificial mounds. The fifth to arrive were the Gauls or Celts. They came as conquerors and brought with them the practice of inhumation. To them succeeded a Roman period and then the French period. The Celtic period is the first of which the writers of antiquity give any detailed circumstances, and hence, as M. D'Arbois de Jubainville observes, it has appeared to those who undertake to narrate the events of that period that no other preceded it. This, however, he designates, and rightly, a delusion. Turning now to the text of the volume, our author first speaks of the Ligures, and chiefly by means of the Geographical names ending in such suffixes as *asco*, *usco*, *osco*, *asca*, *ra*, *entia*, *antio*, *mina*, traces them in most parts of modern France, in the basins of the Rhine, Weser, Elbe, and Danube, in the British Isles, in Italy, Corsica, and Spain. Next he deals with the Hellenes, the Italiotes, and lastly with the Celts. The language and nation of the Celts, he maintains, were found in the centre of what is now Germany, from whence issued the conquering armies which subdued the centre and west of Europe, establishing themselves in France, Spain, Great Britain, and Northern Italy. For a couple of centuries they seem to have possessed a sort of political unity which continued up to the end of the fourth century before the Christian era. During the period of their political unity they appear to have allied themselves with the Greeks, and to have united with them in war against the Carthaginians in Spain, the Etruscans in Italy, and the Illyrians in the basin of the Danube. Their wars were wars of aggression and brought them ultimately into collision with Rome. One chapter is devoted by our author to the relations between the Celts and the Germans prior to the third century B.C. Enough, however, has been said to show the extent and interest attaching to the researches which the author has made and to the results he has arrived at. These latter may not be always at once accepted, but coming from the hand of a writer of the great reputation which M. D'Arbois de Jubainville rightly enjoys, they unquestionably deserve the most careful study.

An Old Kirk Chronicle : Being a History of Auldham, Tynninghame, and Whitekirk, in East Lothian, from Session Records, 1616-1850. By Rev. P. HATELY WADDELL, B.D., Minister of the United Parishes. William Blackwood & Sons: Edinburgh and London. 1893.

The ecclesiastical documents of the country, thanks to the carelessness of their custodians and to the wear and tear of time, are not too numerous, and notwithstanding that a number of excellent volumes of these have been published, there is abundant room for the publication of more. For the history of the religious and social life of the country they are simply invaluable, and a wider and more careful study of them, while correcting many popular impressions respecting the past, would probably show that a number of others now firmly believed to be accurate, or assumed as such, are without real foundation. The United Parishes of Whitekirk and Tynninghame are fortunate in having a minister who knows the value of his Session Records, and believes that it is 'the duty of every parish minister, so far as it is possible, to collect or publish whatever may be historically or ecclesiastically interesting in his own parish, so as to leave a permanent record of what he and his people have inherited from the past.' Would that every parish minister in Scotland whose Kirk Session Records still

survive were of the same persuasion and had the same literary tact as the Rev. P. Hatley Waddell. If they failed to give to the world any new or startling discovery, they might at least accumulate the material for forming larger and more accurate conceptions of the social and religious, if not of the political life of the country during the periods their Records cover. Mr. Waddell has made no startling discovery, nor has he added to our knowledge of what are called 'historical events,' though the drum and trumpet are now and again heard in his pages, as, for instance, when he writes about 'The Camp,' or tells us of the affectionate and solemn farewell which Mr. John Lauder, minister at Tynninghame, took of his flock when he 'was choisin to go to the camp in Ingland and perform Divine service and ministerial dewtais to my Lord Humbles Regiment thair, for the space of of thre monthis.' But if he has not made any startling discovery, he has at least given us a very minute and graphic description of much that transpired in the parish of Tynninghame during the fifty and odd years the said Mr. John Lauder was minister there. It is to this clergyman, 'Mr. Johnne,' as he is usually called, that Mr. Waddell is most indebted for the material he has used in writing his description. He died in 1662, and for the fifty and odd years during which he was minister at Tynninghame, he took the Session Records into his own hands and made them a sort of social history of the parish, noting down the progress of his own work together with his sorrows and difficulties, as well as the delinquencies and other incidents in the life of his parishioners. And a very excellent minister he seems to have been; strict, yet charitable, full of zeal for his office, sharing the sorrows and joys of his people, and often, when the Church treasury was exhausted—a not infrequent state of affairs—supplying their needs out of his own purse. As might be expected, Mr. Waddell has much to tell us of the Church life of the parish, and we hear a great deal about Church services, Church discipline, and Church customs. The 'jougs' are often mentioned, as also are the stocks; the 'reidar,' usually the schoolmaster, whose lot then, at least at Tynninghame, was not at all enviable, though apparently somewhat better than that of the 'clerk' or beadle, is referred to again and again. Reference is made to the change effected in the order and character of public worship by the adoption in Scotland of the Westminster Directory of Worship. To the office-bearers of the Church Mr. Waddell devotes an extremely interesting chapter, and notices that here as elsewhere, at the time, one of the chief duties of the elders was the Sunday 'Sairching of the toune, each his day about,' during time of service, to see who were absent 'from the heiring of the Word.' The duty would seem to have been as ungrateful to the elders as to the defaulters. The minister had frequently to exhort them to its strict discharge. Happily, however, at least during 'Mr. Johnne's' time, the 'sairching' appears to have had the desired result, as he makes the entry, 'The act anent poynding of absents by the officer, causit the pepl to come frequentlie to the kirk at efternoon.' Mr. Waddell has also much to tell of social customs, and here and there a word about superstitions. One of his sentences will be read by many with surprise. It is this: 'We find no superstition about marrying in May, marriages in that month are frequent.' Altogether this is an instructive and an interesting book, singularly well written and embellished with numerous excellent engravings. Both the printer and the binder deserve credit for the handsome appearance they have given to the volume.

Glimpses of the French Revolution: Myths, Ideals, Realities. By JOHN G. ALGER. London: Sampson Low, Marston & Co. 1894.

Histories of the French Revolution, though not altogether satisfactory, have probably been written in sufficient numbers, at least for the present. The time has probably not come for one that is altogether satisfactory; but whether or not, the time is always present for correcting the errors into which historians of that epoch-making event have fallen, and for dissipating the myths which have gained currency in connection with it. So Mr. Alger appears to have felt, and in the singularly well-written pages of the volume before us he has done a great deal in that direction. His volume is not a history, but a series of 'glimpses,' as he calls them; glimpses obtained by a patient study of the original documents belonging to the period, and still preserved in the French Archives. First of all he deals with the myths of the French Revolution, and has no difficulty in showing that Cazotte's prediction, so circumstantially narrated by Laharpe, and afterwards believed by Louis Blanc, and gravely narrated in his 'History of the Revolution,' was a pure fabrication. So again with the story of the daughter of Sombreuil, the Governor of the Hôtel des Invalides, drinking a glass of blood in order to save her father's life. Sombreuil, it appears, had been acquitted, and the utmost that can be made of the story is that, on the day of his acquittal she may have drunk a glass of water coloured with wine, or that water was offered to her into which a drop of blood had fallen by accident. Labussière's story, that he had saved 1500 lives by destroying the documents incriminating actors and other prisoners, and risked his life by creeping into a box used for storing firewood—a story on which M. Sardow founded his drama, 'Thermidor,' is altogether discounted. Mr. Alger brings against these stories evidence of such a character that, though they have long been accepted as true, their mythical character will hereafter require to be admitted. He further shows that the Girondins had no last supper, that contrary to the statement of Carlyle, no attempt was made to save the last batch of victims condemned by Robespierre, that Tom Paine had no miraculous escape from the guillotine, and that the two boys, Barra and Viala, whose remains the Convention had ordered to be placed in the Pantheon, and for whose apotheosis David the artist had made the preparations, were no heroes, and that the stories of their heroism are ridiculous fables. Mr. Alger next treats of the theorists of the Revolution and their theories. He has much also to say of Baron Cloots and his deputation, about Paul Jones, Joel Barlow, and Swan, a Fifeshire man, one of the Boston 'tea-party,' who rather than satisfy a disputed claim spent one-third of his life in a Paris prison. In his later chapters, Mr. Alger speaks of some of the realities of the Revolution, showing the prominent part which women played in it, and illustrating the working of the Revolutionary Tribunal by the trial and acquittal of Sir William Codrington, the conviction of General Dillon, and the summary execution of Arthur. Altogether the book is full of incidents, and while correcting errors, furnishes much information respecting many of the less known scenes and incidents in Paris and France during the Revolutionary Period, and as well respecting many of the principal characters of the time.

Life of the Right Rev. William Reeves, D.D., Lord Bishop of Down, Connor, and Dromore; President of the Royal Irish Academy, etc., etc. By LADY FERGUSON. Dublin: Hodges, Figgis & Co. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1893.

In one sense Dr. Reeves' life was quiet and uneventful; in another it was intense, active, and remarkably fruitful. Few men have accomplished so much in their own special departments, and there are few, if any, to

whom students of Irish and Scottish history, or of the ecclesiastical history of Ireland and Scotland are so profoundly indebted as to the subject of Lady Ferguson's graceful memoir. Had he done no more than issue his edition of Adamnan's *Vita Columbae*, Dr. Reeves would have earned the deepest gratitude of his contemporaries and of posterity. That volume, however, magnificent as its editing is, represents but a comparatively small part of the work he actually accomplished. This is all the more remarkable, when it is remembered that at the very time he was engaged upon it he was 'obliged,' as he used to say, 'to pedagogize,' and was in correspondence with most of the learned antiquaries and Celtic scholars of his time, his letters to them frequently numbering as many as thirty a day. That his life should be written was a matter of course, and notwithstanding her Ladyship's modest disclaimer, it could scarcely, as the event has proved, have fallen into better hands than those of Lady Ferguson. By confining herself to moderate limits, avoiding digressions, and relating simply the chief incidents in her subject's life, she has given to the reading world a narrative which is at once eminently enjoyable and instructive. The eldest son of Boles and Mary Reeves, Dr. Reeves was born at Charleville, County Cork, on the 16th March, 1815. The Reeveses are an ancient family, and seem to have belonged originally to Dorsetshire. One of them, Sir Thomas Ryves, was an eminent ecclesiastical lawyer in the reign of James I., and rendered himself notorious by his literary efforts to represent St. Patrick as a myth, and the prevailing creed of Ireland a fable. When 15 young Reeves entered College, and soon distinguished himself. His first preferment was to the curacy of Lisburn, from whence he soon removed to Ballymena, a place which will long be associated with his name. As a child he had given indications of his bent towards antiquarian studies. As his years increased they took a stronger hold upon him. A great pedestrian, he explored all the objects of interest around Ballymena, visited and identified every ruin, and soon after his settlement there suggested to his Bishop a project which laid the foundation of his first great work, 'The Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Down, Connor, and Dromore.' The publication of this brought him into immediate notice, and fixed his place as one of the most erudite antiquaries of Ireland. Ten years later he published his edition of *Adamnan's Life of St. Columba*. It was received with acclamation. He has himself pronounced Adamnan's *Life* one of the best pieces of hagiology ever written, and his own edition of it will probably never be surpassed. In 1864, that is, nine years after the appearance of the edition of Adamnan, which was published by the Maitland Club as well as by the Irish Archaeological Society, Dr. Reeves brought out his well known but exceedingly scarce work on the Culdees of the British Islands, in which, with great learning and success, he handled one of the most perplexing problems of British Church History. The list of his printed works covers no fewer than eleven octavo pages, and he left others which have not yet been printed. Amid all his literary and antiquarian work Dr. Reeves did not neglect his duties as a curate, vicar, or rural Dean. Promotion came late to him, but it came at last, and enabled him to visit Ballymena, no longer as its vicar, but as Bishop of the diocese in which it stands. It is not at all flattering to read that after his reputation was thoroughly established, he applied to be appointed Professor of Ecclesiastical History, and was rejected. On the other hand, it says not a little for his patriotism and love for his favourite studies, that when his yearly income from his vicarage was not much above a hundred pounds sterling, rather than let the Book of Armagh go out of the country, he became himself its purchaser at a cost of £300, in order to preserve it to Ireland where it is now one of its most

priceless literary and antiquarian treasures. Lady Ferguson has enlivened her narrative with not a few striking anecdotes and instances of the great antiquary's humour.

The Life of Mahomet, from Original Sources. By SIR WILLIAM MUIR, K.C.S.I., D.C.L., etc. Third Edition. London: Smith, Elder, & Co. 1894.

That Sir William Muir's *Life of Mahomet* has reached its third edition says not a little for the interest still attaching to the fortunes of the Founder of Islam and still more for the esteem in which Sir William's scholarly and admirable narrative of them continues to be held. The work has been subjected to much criticism, but it still remains the only authoritative account we have of the life of Mahomet. The original edition, published in 1861, in four octavo volumes, now excessively scarce, was amply supplied with notes and references and introduction. In the second most of the notes were omitted, together with the valuable introductory chapters on the pre-Islamite history of Arabia and the references. The text remained substantially the same, though the chapter on the Coran and Tradition was relegated to an Appendix. In the present edition, the introductory chapters on the Sources for the biography of Mahomet—the Coran, Tradition and early Biographies—on Arabia before the time of Mahomet, and on the progenitors of Mahomet, together with that on the prehistorical notices of Mecca, the Kaaba and Abrahamic legends, have been restored. The text has been revised throughout, some conjectural matter has been omitted, and numerous alterations suggested by further studies have been made. Altogether, the present volume contains the best text of the work, and were it not that the student will still have to go to the four volume edition for the reference, this third edition would supersede it. For the general reader indeed it is *the* edition, and students of the Life of Mahomet and the beginning of Islam will not be able to dispense with it.

Moltke: A Biographical and Critical Study. By WILLIAM O'CONNOR MORRIS. Portraits, Maps, and Plans. London and New York: Ward & Downey. 1893.

Mr. Morris frankly acknowledges that he has no knowledge of the German language, and that in consequence he may have missed much that throws light on Moltke's character. At the same time, he owns to having read all the accounts dealing with the great Prussian General and his exploits, which have appeared in English or French, whether original or translations. It is very doubtful therefore that, notwithstanding his ignorance of the German tongue, he has missed anything of real importance that would throw light upon Moltke's character or conduct as a soldier or general. The best German books in this connection have long been accessible in French or English translations, and it would be a poor compliment to the abilities of their accomplished authors, or even to Mr. Morris' critical sagacity, to suppose that they have led him astray in any material point. It would of course have been an advantage if Mr. Morris could have read with his own eyes what the Germans have to say about their hero, but his deficiency in this respect, more especially when the long list of authorities he has consulted—a list which he has placed at the beginning of his volume, is considered—forms by no means a sufficient reason for discounting or suspecting the value of his book. Here and there, throughout the volume, we meet with notes respecting Moltke's personal character. We hear of his taciturnity, his simplicity, his unassumingness, his

geniality in the society of his friends, and his hatred of adulation ; but it is chiefly as captain and military organiser that Mr. Morris contemplates him. In this latter respect, particulars are still wanting, but sufficient is known to show that he probably stood higher in this respect, even than as a general. Certainly, in the art of preparing for war he has had few, if any superiors. Nothing seems to have been overlooked, and on the two great occasions on which he acted, the forces under his control were found in perfect readiness to move at the moment war was declared. Mr. Morris, however, while paying a high tribute to Moltke's ability and genius as an organiser, is by no means so high in his praise of him as a general. He admits his clearness, decision, boldness and tenacity of purpose, but is far from admitting that he acted without error of judgment, or that his campaigns were always the best or scientifically carried out, or even that he always made the most of his advantages. The plan of the Bohemian Campaign he condemns as unscientific, and after examining the arguments which have been brought in defence of it, is of opinion that but for the incompetency of Benedek it might easily have had a different issue. Whilst speaking of the French campaign up to Sedan, in terms of greatest praise, he is disposed to regard the siege of Paris as a blunder, and is far from admiring the manner in which the war was carried on in the South of France. As compared with Napoleon, Moltke, he thinks, is considerably inferior. The frequency with which he lost touch with his opponents is pointed out, as is also his failure on several occasions to obtain sufficient or accurate information as to their movements. Altogether, Mr. Morris is by no means an indiscriminate admirer of the great Prussian. He follows him with acute criticism, and finds out a number of weak points in his armour. Much of his success he attributes to the fact that he was pitted against men of far inferior ability, as well as to the fact that the armies he directed were in every respect superior to any they had to encounter. How the invasion of France would have terminated had the French armies been from the beginning under the undivided control of a captain like Chanzy, is a matter for speculation. There can be little doubt, however, that if the French troops had been better directed they would have given a better account of themselves. Of the French generals Mr. Morris has much to say. To the abilities of Chanzy he pays a high tribute, and ascribes the failure of the Army of the Loire to effect the relief of Paris to the fault of D'Aurelle and the rash intermeddling of Gambetta. As need hardly be said, Mr. Morris' volume, while a biographical and critical study of Moltke, is also a history of the war between Prussia and Austria, and of the German invasion of France. It is brilliantly written, and its criticisms, while unsparing, are evidently characterised by the desire to be just. It says not a little in our author's favour that even in Germany there is now a tendency to find fault with the strategy of Moltke in his French Campaign, and that recent German writers have since pointed out some of the defects already dwelt upon by Mr. Morris.

Samuel Taylor Coleridge: A Narrative of the Events of His Life.

By JAMES DYKES CAMPBELL. London and New York : Macmillan & Co. 1894.

Though this volume is, in the main, a reprint of the Life which Mr. Campbell prefixed to the excellent one volume edition of Coleridge's poems, recently published by Messrs. Macmillan & Co., the reader must not suppose that he has here merely the text of that Life presented in a more handsome form. The book may in some respects be called new. The hand of the reviser is evident on well-nigh every page, and though great

care is manifest in the earlier *Life*, still greater is manifest in this. A number of errors and slips of the pen have been corrected; many passages have been considerably expanded, and much new matter has been added. The more elaborate biography on which Mr. Ernest Hartley Coleridge is engaged, will in all likelihood be fuller and contain many additional particulars, but it is doubtful whether for popular reading it will supersede Mr. Campbell's. As a plain and as far as possible accurate narrative of the events of the poet's life, the latter is in every way eminently satisfactory.

Letters of Asa Gray. Edited by JANE LORING GRAY. 2 vols. London: Macmillan & Co. 1893.

The letters of a man of Dr. Asa Gray's standing and reputation can scarcely fail to be attractive, and certainly those which are here printed will be warmly welcomed on both sides of the Atlantic. Together with the autobiographical chapters which Mrs. Gray has wisely added, they tell the story of their author's life briefly and vividly. That they have been carefully selected is evident. Many letters which Dr. Gray wrote must have been of a purely scientific character. These have been for the most part omitted, and those which Mrs. Gray has printed are such as give an account of his travels, of his intercourse with his friends, and without entering minutely into the scientific labours on which he was engaged, indicate with sufficient clearness the general course and character of his life. Most of his correspondents were of course men of science like himself, though some of them were not, as for instance the late Dean Church, with whom he seems to have been on terms of the closest intimacy. The letters are fresh and bright, without elaboration, and just what a busy man might be supposed to throw off for the perusal of those who were interested in his work or doings or in whose works and doings he himself was interested. The autobiography is all too short, and breaks off where the letters begin. It is taken up with his early life and struggles. Mrs. Gray has done the work of editing with skill and judgment. Her notes are numerous both to the letters and the autobiography, but by no means too numerous. For the most part they are brief, and they are always helpful.

Darwinianism: Workmen and Work. By JAMES HUTCHISON STIRLING, LL.D., etc. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1894.

Dr. Hutchison Stirling here returns to his controversy against Darwinism. He is induced to do so because he believes that the doctrine of Mr. Darwin is not yet fully understood. That it was not fully understood when first published, the remarks which he adduces from Sir Charles Lyell and others, as well as from Mr. Darwin himself, are a sufficient proof, and though the theory has been before the world so long, he thinks it is still in need of elucidation—an elucidation, he also thinks, which, if fairly apprehended, will cause those who hold the theory to abandon it, and prevent others from accepting it. Mr. Huxley has of course expounded the doctrine, but Dr. Hutchison Stirling is as much against Professor Huxley as he is against Mr. Darwin. The proposition against which he argues is, in his own words, 'Species are *naturally* modified into species, by *natural* variation, *naturally* realised into new natural relation, through *natural* divergence (selection); and *naturally* in the struggle for existence.' The italics are our author's. His philippic, for it is little short, is divided into two parts; one dealing with the Workmen, and the other with the Work. The chapters on the Workmen carry us back to the time of Dr. Thomas Brown, the philosopher, and the more distinguished of Mr.

Darwin's ancestors, such as Dr. Erasmus Darwin and Dr. Darwin, Mr. Charles Darwin's father, and deal largely with the controversy between Dr. Thomas Brown and Erasmus Darwin and the theories of the latter. In the chapters on the Work our author first analyses the mental character of Mr. Darwin with the purpose of accounting for the doctrine of Darwinism, and showing the character and value of the contents of the *Origin of Species*, and then attacks its doctrines, submitting the ideas of 'struggle for existence,' 'survival of the fittest,' and 'natural selection,' to a very searching and damaging criticism. The work is perhaps too elaborate for the ordinary reader : but those who will take the trouble to read through its pages, more especially the second part, will not be without their reward. Dr. Stirling has many new and unexpected things to say and proves himself a combatant very difficult to resist.

Romance of the Insect World. By L. N. BADENOCH. With Illustrations by MARGARET J. D. BADENOCH and others. London and New York : Macmillan & Co. 1893.

This is an admirable little book—admirable alike in matter, manner and illustrations. The illustrations are exceedingly apposite, throwing great light upon the text and making it all the more enjoyable. To those who are well versed in the subject, Mr. Badenoch's pages will of course show little, if anything, that is new ; but to the majority of readers, more especially to those of them who take an interest in the insect world, or in natural history in general, all that he has to say will have that charm of novelty, which falls little short of fascination. The first chapter, which is on the metamorphoses of insects, is of necessity a little technical, and, though admirably done, may prove to the uninitiated a little dry ; but when Mr. Badenoch gets fairly into his subject, and treats of the food, homes, and defences of insects, when, in short, he comes to deal with the actual romance of insect life, there is instruction and entertainment on every page. As an introduction to the study of the subject, or as a means of awakening an interest in it, the volume is specially adapted. Young or old may read it with pleasure. Mr. Badenoch has wisely added an ample glossary of the scientific terms he has employed.

Principles of Political Economy. By J. SHIELD NICHOLSON, M.A., D.Sc., Professor of Political Economy in the University of Edinburgh. London : A. & C. Black. 1893.

Though called the 'dismal science,' Political Economy is gradually being forced to the front, and threatens before long to become the most engrossing topic of modern thought. Many unsound and often wild theories are set forth, and one can never tell what new fad may be propounded in connection with it. Socialism, as some one has said, is in the air. So also is Political Economy, and like most other things which are in the air, the vagaries to which it may give rise are endless. Professor Nicholson is no faddist. A genuine disciple of Smith and Mill is not likely to become one. Faddists and theorists in general usually fight shy of history. The logic of its facts is too cold and relentless for them. Mr. Nicholson, on the other hand, like his masters, Adam Smith and J. S. Mill, deduces his principles from what has actually happened, and is more concerned to show how the laws which prevail in political economy are embedded in the very nature of things and cannot be violated without harm than he is to build castles in the air up to which no real foundations can possibly be built. He makes no profession to be an original writer, in the sense of having any new theory or principle to propound. He is contented to take the old principles and

to illustrate them with modern as well as ancient instances. And very admirably he does this. He is much too cautious a thinker to be led away by theories, and constantly keeps his feet on solid ground. The present volume is but an instalment, and treats only of Production and Distribution. In a concluding chapter he deals with Utopias. His remarks on Socialism are deserving of the very greatest attention. They are wise and weighty and calculated to make those who are addicted to this fashionable ism pause. It is not necessary to agree with everything Mr. Nicholson has said; but taking his volume as a whole, it is an extremely valuable contribution to a subject which, though much talked about, is surrounded with difficulties that are by no means always understood even by those who are prepared to solve them out of hand.

Tennyson's Idylls of the King and Arthurian Story from the Sixteenth Century. By M. W. MACCALLUM, M.A. Glasgow: James Maclehose & Sons. 1894.

Critics have said so much about King Arthur and his Knights of the Round Table that the old story is beginning to have every appearance of losing some of its charms. Once upon a time it was full of enchantments and delights, but the critics have dealt with these as children often deal with flowers, pulling them to pieces to see what there is in the heart of them, and they have done this so often and remorselessly that one can scarcely take up a book with a title similar to that given above without being haunted by the thought: Here is another disenchanter, one who is about to tell us that Arthur, the King Arthur of the Romance, was a myth, or the Prince of myths, who presided, or was supposed to preside, over the Brythonic Hades, which somehow or other came to be located in Scotland. At any rate, critics, philologists, folklorists, and others of that sort, have done much to destroy the pleasure one used to have in reading the old Arthurian romances. The result of their cuttings and carvings, their analyses and their arguments may be knowledge, but it is not poetry. It may be good, very enlightening and very instructive so far as it goes, and that after all is not very far. All the same, for our own part, we would rather have the poetry, the enchantments and the mysteries, and read the old world's dreams unmolested by doubts and untroubled by theories, than the very uncertain results which have as yet yielded to the inquisitions of the critic. Mr. Maccallum has written a very sensible and readable book. Happily he is not a specialist. Certainly he has made no attempt to dissipate Arthur, his Queen, or his Knights into thin air. So far as we can make out, he believes them to have been real beings, afterwards idealised, but all the same real beings. He approaches his subject more as a historian and a poet than as a philologist, anxious to find out proofs for a theory. It may, in some respects, be a disadvantage to him that he is not a Celtic scholar; but for the purpose he has in hand it is not. After dealing with Arthur among the Celts and the Romantic Historians, in Mallory and the English Ballads, he proceeds to sketch the fortunes of the Arthurian story in England during the Puritan period, and subsequently down to the revival of interest in the old romances. Next he glances at Tennyson's contemporaries at home and abroad, among whom he mentions Immermann, Roeber, Schneegans, and Wagner in Germany, Quinet and Paulin Paris in France, and W. Morris, R. S. Hawker, Matthew Arnold, and Swinburne in England, and then proceeds to treat of Tennyson as the Arthurian poet, and to discuss the general meaning of the *Idylls* as a series. Whether the reader studies the first part of the volume or not, and if he does he will find much to instruct him, from the perusal of the second and main part he will turn to the *Idylls* and read

them with a heightened sense of enjoyment. He will see in them much more than he saw before, and have a larger understanding of their drift and power.

Our Intellectual Strength and Weakness. By J. G. BOURINOT, C.M.G., D.C.L., etc. London: B. Quaritch; Montreal: Foster, Brown, & Co. 1893.

This volume, which is intended to be the beginning of a series of historical and other essays to be periodically reproduced in a convenient form for the general reader from the larger volumes of the Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, is from the pen of Dr. Bourinot, whose opinion in all matters connected with the literary as well as with the Parliamentary history of the Dominion is of considerable weight, and deals with a subject that will be interesting to many as well on this side of the Atlantic as on the other. Originally it formed the presidential address to the Royal Society at its meeting in 1893 at Ottawa, and consists for the most part of a history of literature in Canada, in the course of which Dr. Bourinot passes in rapid review the works of the various authors who have appeared on the Canadian soil. He has much to say on the state of education and art, and pays a handsome tribute to the influence which the Marquess and Marchioness of Lorne had upon the development of the latter. In the literatures of England and France he believes that the Canadians have a priceless heritage, and sees in the rivalry of the two languages an incentive to more vigorous intellectual effort. The address, in short, opens up a comparatively new chapter in the history of literature, and contains evidence that the country, though still in its infancy, and greatly hampered by its physical conditions, has a great future before it, both political and literary. Dr. Bourinot has added to the address a considerable number of interesting and informing notes, bibliographical and other.

A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles founded mainly on materials collected by the Philological Society. Edited by Dr. JAMES A. H. MURRAY. Everybody—Ezod (forming part of Vol. III.) By HENRY BRADLEY, Hon. M.A., Oxon. Oxford. At the Clarendon Press, 1894.

Mr. Bradley here completes the letter E. Most of the words registered are those which begin with the prefix Ex. Many of them are in some respects curious and not a few of them are obsolete. The interest attaching to some of the words is great, though the number of these is not so great as in one or two of the preceding parts. It is almost needless to say that the work done in this part fully equals the high standard reached in the other parts. Every article is excellent. Among them may be noted those on the words 'evil,' 'evolution,' 'excalibur,' 'excise,' 'express,' 'exchequer,' 'ex-libris,' 'exercise,' 'exchange.' From the article under the last we learn that in the United States 'exchange' is the name given to a dram-shop. The legal articles are as usual excellent; so are the philosophical. The rapidity with which this vast magnificent work is going on brings its completion within measurable distance, even though the part dealing with the letter D has still to come.

SHORT NOTICES.

The first series of the late Dean Church's 'Village Sermons' have long been well known for their clear spiritual teaching and fine ethical inspiration. A second series—*Village Sermons preached at Wharfedale* by the late Dean Church (Macmillan)—has now been issued. The sermons in this series fully sustain the reputation of the first, and will be welcomed by many as being characterised by the same distinctive features.

The Mystery of Iniquity and other Sermons (Macmillan) is another volume of sermons by the late Dr. Brooks. Like previous sermons by the same writer, they are remarkable for their freshness of thought, simplicity, and eloquence. Dr. Brooks had few rivals among the preachers of America, and the volume before us only gives emphasis to the loss which the American Church and the United States have sustained by his lamented death.

The lectures which the late Dr. Hort delivered on the Hulsean Foundation in 1871 are now published under the title, *The Way the Truth the Life* (Macmillan). The delay in their publication has been due to the author's inability to find time for their revision. A number of the pages in the present volume have had the advantage of his revision, but the majority of them have not. The consequence is the lectures are, for the most part, issued not as their author intended them to be issued, but as they were preached, with the addition of such notes and illustrations as he was permitted to make to them before his death. In the touching prefatory note which has been written for the volume, Dr. Westcott admirably characterises the lectures when he says, speaking of what Dr. Hort has here written: 'He brings out under many forms, and in many applications, that the primary message of the Gospel is the message of life. Everywhere he points to the Incarnation as the supreme fact in which development finds its law, progress its goal, the individual—the fragment—consummation in a Divine unity.' The lectures are, as Dr. Westcott further observes, 'chapters in the history of a soul of singular sincerity and depth,' and 'bring the reader into living fellowship with one who has known what it is to search for the Light and to see it.'

Fishers of Men (Macmillan) contains the address delivered by the Archbishop of Canterbury within the diocese of Canterbury during his Lordship's third visitation. They deal practically and earnestly with such topics as Church legislation, the Christian education of children, elementary and higher education, the thoughts which are now struggling for expression in various classes of society, the work and organisation of the Church, and the problems which lie before it.

The Acts of the Apostles (Macmillan) is an hitherto unpublished volume of sermons by the late Professor Maurice. As such it will be received by a very wide circle of readers with pleasure. To all appearance Mr. Maurice intended the series for publication, but why it has been so long delayed, Mr. Ludlow, who edits the volume, does not say. Like the sermons on the third and fourth Gospels, and like those on the books of the Old Testament, this latest addition to the collected edition of Mr. Maurice's works, bears witness to his remarkable keenness of spiritual perception. The interpretations given to the text are such as might have been expected. They are always fresh, reverent and practical, and often throw a bright and vivid light upon the meaning of the Evangelist's narrative. As in his Gospel St. Luke set in order what Jesus began to do, so here, Mr. Maurice tells us, he is occupied in telling what He went on to do.

The Hon. and Rev. Arthur T. P. Lyttleton's *College and University Sermons* (Macmillan) were preached for the most part in the Chapel of Selwyn College, the rest of them being delivered before the University of Cambridge. They deal with such topics as the moral power of the knowledge of God, Christ as a Spiritual Master, Original Sin, the Catholic position of the English Church, eternal punishments, the hope of immortality and the ideal of a religious education. They are evangelical in tone and reverent in spirit. The author is an acute reasoner, and states his positions temperately. His sense of the greatness and solemnity of the subjects with which he deals is always evident.

Honouring God (Alex. Gardner) is a series of lectures by the Rev. J. A. Paton, Free Church minister at Dalbeattie, in which he endeavours to show what we are to believe, how we are to live and act, and what reward is promised to the upright. The lectures show considerable reading, and to the class to whom they were addressed would doubtless prove instructive and edifying. They are directed against what, in the opinion of Mr. Paton, and in the opinion of many others, are among the leading errors of the day in religious matters. Whether they will convince others than those who were present at their delivery is another question. At any rate, Mr. Paton has done his best, and his work has met with the approval of many.

The Religious Tract Society have issued a new and enlarged edition of their well-known *Annotated Paragraph Bible*. The paragraph arrangement but with the chapters and verses distinctly marked, as well as the metrical form of the poetical books, including the prophecies of the Old Testament, has been retained, and the great divisions of such books as the Psalms and Proverbs have been noted. The authorised text of 1611 has been used, as in the previous edition, with the exception of some few differences in punctuation and the use of italics. The prefaces and introductions, though carefully revised, are substantially the same. Little, if any notice, however, has been taken of the recent advances in Biblical criticism, though some attention has been given to the various readings of the text of the New Testament, and the more important of them have been inserted but without discussion. The notes are, as before, strictly explanatory and illustrative, and everything has been done, so far as space would allow, to illustrate the language of the Sacred Writers by references to manners and customs, geography and history. Need we say that throughout the tone is thoroughly devout and orthodox? The explanations are, as a rule, brief and to the point, and here and there much light is thrown upon the text. The same Society have also sent out in 'By-paths of Bible Knowledge,' a very useful volume, entitled *The Money of the Bible*, by Dr. George C. Williamson, in which an account is given of the uncoined money used in Old Testament times, of the coins used among the Jews at a later period, and of those named in the New Testament. Facsimiles of the coins are given, and the letter-press is abundantly illustrated. To their Present Day Tracts a volume has been added containing essays on the 'Testimonies of Great Men to the Bible and Christianity,' 'Theology, an inductive and progressive Science,' 'Modern Scepticism compared with Christian Faith,' 'The Psalms of David and Modern Criticism,' 'The Problem of Human Suffering,' and 'Christ's Doctrine of Prayer.' They have also issued the first two volumes of a new series, entitled 'Present Day Primers,' the first of which has for its title 'Early Church History,' and the second, 'The Printed English Bible, 1525-1885.' The series promises to be very useful to those for whom it is prepared. Mr. Richard Lovett has prepared for the Society another volume on James Gilmour, entitled *James Gilmour and his boys*. Mr. Gilmour, it appears, was in the

habit of writing home to his boys in England accounts of his journeys, and selections from the letters he addressed to them form the larger part of this interesting volume. The character of Mr. J. Oswald Jackson's little volume is sufficiently indicated by its title, *The Golden Secret of Christian Work*.

Some time ago the Bishop of Ripon published a volume of fairy stories entitled, 'Truth in Tale,' in which he endeavoured to bring home to young and old a variety of religious truths. The volume was acceptable in many quarters, both on account of the Bishop's skill as a story-teller and because of the lessons the tales conveyed. *Twilight Dreams* (Macmillan) is another volume of the same kind from the hand of Dr. Carpenter. The 'dreams' are admirably related in a species of prose which is almost poetic. If anything, the plots, if we may so say, of the 'dreams' are in some instances a little more complicated. The truths they convey are always noble, and forcibly driven home.

The Rev. Alexander Whyte, D.D., of St. George's Free Church, Edinburgh, who has done so much in the way of exposition for Bunyan, has published a second series of lectures, entitled *Bunyan Characters* (Oliphant Anderson & Ferrier). The characters dealt with in this volume are such as Great-Heart, Mr. Timorous, Mr. Skill, Hopeful, Ignorance, Old Honest. Dr. Whyte's lectures are brief but full of wholesome practical teaching, and not without a certain measure of quiet humour. The success of the first series is a guarantee that this second will find favour among a large class of readers.

In *The Witness to Immortality* (Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston), the Rev. Geo. A. Gordon, the minister of the Old South Church, Boston, gathers together the testimonies of Hebrew Prophets, of Poets, Philosophers, and scientific writers, together with the teaching of our Lord and St. Paul, as to the life hereafter, and discourses eloquently upon them. There is a beautiful literary charm running throughout his pages which are full of noble and inspiring thoughts.

Essays, Addresses, and Lyrical Translations (Macmillan), is a collection of papers written by the late Dr. T. Campbell Finlayson, formerly minister of the Rusholme Congregational Church, Manchester, to which Professor Wilkins of Owens College has prefixed a sympathetic biographical sketch of their author. The papers deal with a variety of subjects; among others, with Lord Tennyson's 'In Memoriam,' Mr. Browning's 'Pippa Passes,' 'The Practical Uses of the Imagination,' 'Christianity and the Religion of the Future,' 'Stoicism' and 'Cynicism.' The papers are bright and scholarly, and show that Dr. Finlayson had many sides to his nature notwithstanding his diffidence.

Professor Tout's *Edward the First* (Macmillan's 'Twelve English Statesmen' Series), is an admirable little book, clear, penetrating, impartial, and eminently readable. It belongs to an excellent series, and easily takes its place with the rest. This is how Professor Tout describes the effect of Edward's first conquest of Scotland: 'Behind the politic opposition of the Scottish nobles there lay the growing sense of indignation of the Scots people. The violent policy of Edward was gradually welding together the sturdy Anglian peasant of the Lothians, the Anglicised Gael of the North-east, and the half-Anglicised Briton of the South-west, into a real and vigorous national unity. As the Norman conquerors of England bound together Mercian, Northumbrian, and West Saxon by common servitude, so that a single English nation, strong, determined, and united, rose out

of the opposition to Angewin despotism, so now the oppressive policy of Edward in Scotland was slowly but surely creating the modern Scottish people. The very fact that the chief formative elements in the new nation were English only added to the severity of the struggle. The Scots, or the most vigorous part of them, shared nearly everything with their would-be conquerors—tongue, institutions, traditions, and character. It was not, truly regarded, a war of two races; it was more properly a civil strife, a great schism of the English race within itself. The struggle was on that account the more stubbornly and persistently fought. And all the statecraft of the great Edward could not reconcile a proud and haughty people to the extinction of its local life.'

The Statesman's Year-Book, 1894 (Macmillan), is always up to date and reliable. Mr. Scott Keltie deserves the utmost credit for the way in which he marshalls his figures and manages to compress so much and so great a variety of information into his pages. In the present issue, which, it may be noted, is the Thirty-first, the changes in the Government consequent on the resignation of Mr. Gladstone are registered. The principal features of the issue, however, are to be found in the Introduction, where we have a condensed translation of part of the Report issued last September by M. A. Picard, President of the French Permanent Commission on Customs Valuation, Statistics respecting the Wheat Crop of the World, the World's production of Gold and Silver, and last, but not of least importance at the present moment, a chapter on the Navies of the World.

The idea which Mr. Ford has embodied in his *Ballads of Bairnhood* (Alex. Gardner) is one that will meet with very general approval. Equally approved will be the way in which he has embodied it. From all quarters and from a great variety of authors he has selected a charming collection of poems dealing with childhood and children. Some of them are exquisite in their pathos. Tender expressions of grief and joy meet us on every page, and to very many this dainty little volume will be a book of gems, in which some of their profoundest sorrows, as well as of their purest joys, find expression.

From the *Librairie de l'Art* (G. Pierson et C^{ie}, Paris,) we have received, in the 'Celebrated Artists' Series, M. A. Hustin's *Constant Troyon, Bernard Van Orley*, by M. A. Wauters, and M. H. Havard's *Michiel van Mierevelt et son gendre*; also the first and second livraisons of *Animaliers Contemporaines*, and the first and second livraisons of *Sculpteurs Contemporaines*. Each livraison contains a hundred reproductions of the best works of the best masters both French and foreign. A new venture by the same firm is their *Bibliothèque d'Education artistique*. Of this we have received four parts, bearing the title *Documents décoratifs Japonais*. They contain sketches after the Japanese manner of flowers, plants, and birds, and show proof of considerable educational value. Other parts are to follow.

The Rev. D. Carnegie went out to Matabeleland in 1882 as a missionary, and for ten years lived at Hope Fountain, about twelve miles from Bulawayo, the now famous headquarters of Lobengula. He knows the language, and during his stay at Hope Fountain had much intercourse with the natives, and many opportunities of observing them. Few Europeans, in fact, know so much about Matabele customs, modes of thought, and ways of life, as he does, and in his little volume, *Among the Matabele* (Religious Tract Society), he gives us a simple and intelligible account of what he saw and learned about them. Khama of Mashonaland has a chapter to himself, but the rest of the volume is devoted to Lobengula, and the history, manners, customs, and beliefs of the people over whom he ruled.

In his new work, *The Raiders* (T. Fisher Unwin), Mr. S. R. Crockett has enhanced the reputation he has already won as a writer of Scottish fiction, by his *Stickit Minister*. *The Raiders* is not a story of fashionable life; it is not a story of life in London. In our opinion it is something better. It is a bit of genuine old Scottish life, away down in the wilds of Galloway. Mr. Crockett has taken one of the stories of the old bad times there, and worked it up with wonderful skill. Every chapter may almost be called a revelation, and the whole is woven together with such masterly art that the attention of the reader is held as by a spell from the beginning to the end. The descriptions of scenery are almost photographic in their minuteness, and yet they are so much a part of the story that it is impossible to pass them by. There are one or two gruesome scenes, and a number which are of breathless interest, but here again the whole is so admirably done and everything is so true to nature and tradition, that notwithstanding the intensely exciting character of the incidents, it is scarcely possible to charge Mr. Crockett with being a sensationalist. He has evidently struck something like a new vein—one which, unless we are mistaken, is likely to prove rich in materials. To sketch the story would be to spoil the reader's enjoyment of it. Silver Sand is a strange being, and the final revelation of his character is thoroughly unexpected. The final scene in the Aughty seems to us, however, just a little overdone. The sobs and tears are perhaps too abundant. Human nature, however, is a strange thing.

NEW EDITIONS AND REPRINTS.

Most of Mr. Birrel's *Essays about Men, Women, and Books* (Elliot Stock), have already appeared in the *Speaker*. They are characterised by the same felicities of style and freshness of thought which are to be found in *Obiter Dicta* and other of the author's writings. Mr. Birrel is here, however, scarcely at his best. This is probably accounted for by the fact that the essays are short and somewhat fragmentary. They are pleasant reading, however, and will repay careful perusal.

Mr. Goldwin Smith's *Essays on Questions of the Day: Political and Social* (Macmillan), are in need of no commendation. They do more than maintain his high reputation as a clear and logical thinker and brilliant writer, who touches every subject he handles with fresh life and presents it in new and unexpected aspects. Among the subjects dealt with here are Social and Industrial Revolution, Disestablishment, The Political Crisis in England, The Empire, Woman Suffrage, and the Irish Question. The most striking among them is the first, in which the various theories of Socialism are acutely handled. Mr. Goldwin Smith is a master of analysis, and his criticism of the theories discussed is merciless.

Mr. Winter's *Shakespeare's England* (Macmillan) appears in a new dress. It is admirably printed and illustrated. Those who are acquainted with it in its old forms will welcome it more than ever now that it has the charm of illustration added to that of style. As a holiday book or as a book for quiet reading there are few modern books of its kind that equal it.

Mr. Selby Bigge's *Hume's Enquiries* (Clarendon Press) is a reprint of the celebrated Philosopher's *Enquiry concerning the Human Understanding* and the *Enquiry concerning the Principles of Morals*, and forms a companion volume to the Editor's excellent reprint of the *Treatise on Human Nature*. The text used is that of the posthumous edition of 1777. Mr. Selby Bigge has written a very useful introduction to the *Enquiries* and prepared three tables in which he compares the contents of the *Treatise*

with those of the *Enquiries* and *Dissertation on the Passions*, which Dissertation, however, though originally printed with the *Enquiries* is here omitted, with the intention, it is to be hoped, of issuing it in another volume of Hume's writings. The editing is marked by all the admirable qualities which characterise that of the previous volume. A very full and excellent index has been added.

The Rev. Orby Shipley's *Carmina Mariana* (Burns & Oates) has already reached its second edition. The text is the same with the exception of a few corrections. The Index to Authors, which was wanting in the first edition, is a decided improvement.

Messrs. Hodder & Stoughton have issued a revised and enlarged edition of Miss Jane Barlow's *Bogland Studies*. As most readers are aware, the studies are poems of Irish life, written in the English peculiar to Ireland. It is not often that a volume of this character reaches a second edition, and the fact that Miss Barlow's has is a proof of its merit.

The new edition of Professor Shield Nicholson's *Treatise on Money and Essays on Monetary Problems* (A. & C. Black) besides the matter contained in the original issue includes some six more essays dealing with more recent problems. The last is the essays which appeared in the *Contemporary Review* of September last, under the title of 'The Indian Currency Experiment.' The other additions treat of Bimetallists and their theories, of the 'Missing Link between Gold and Silver,' of 'The Living Capital of the United Kingdom,' and the relative strength of Capital and Labour.

Among other Books we have received the following :—*The Revelation and the Record*, Essays of Previous Questions in the Proof of Christianity (T. & T. Clark) by the Rev. James Macgregor, D.D., Oamaru ; *Aspects of Theism* (Macmillan) by Professor Knight, LL.D. ; *Skeleton Sermons for the Sundays and Holidays of the Year* (Kegan Paul) by John B. Bagshawe, D.D. ; *The Covenanters of the Merse* (Oliphant & Co.) by the Rev. J. Brown, M.A. *What's the World Coming to?* (Elliot Stock) by W. Graham Moffat and John White ; *Golden Nails* (Oliphant & Co.) by George Milligan, B.D. ; *Strolling Players* (Macmillan) by C. M. Yonge and C. R. Coleridge ; *For the Sake o' the Siller* (Oliphant & Co.) by Maggie Swan ; *A Romance of Skye* (Oliphant & Co.) by Maggie Maclean, illustrations by Lockhart Bogle ; *Bush and Town* : A homely story of the Pacific Coast (Oliphant & Co.) by Catherine Kirby Peacock ; A cheaper edition of P. Hay Hunter's *Sons of the Croft* (Oliphant & Co.).



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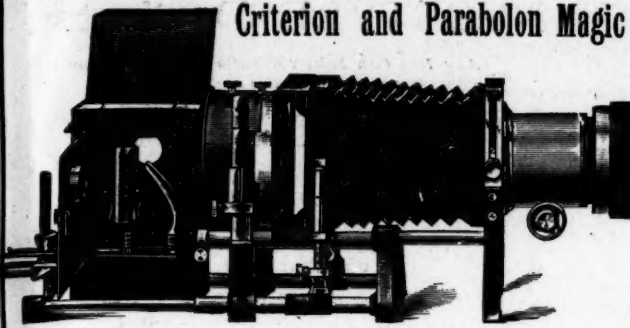
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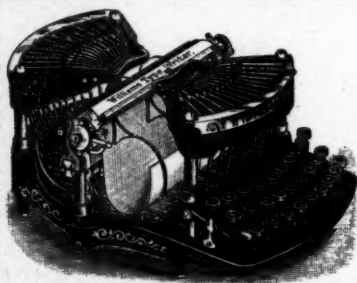
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